DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 341 271 FL 020 041

AUTHOR Sajavaara, Kari; And Others
TITLE Communication and Discourse across Cultures and Languages. AFinLA Yearbook 1991. Publications de l'Association Finlandaise de Linguistic Appliquee (AFinLa). No. 49.
INSTITUTION Finnish Association for Applied Linguistics, Jyvaskyla.
REPORT NO ISBN-951-9388-36-2; ISSN-0781-0318
PUB DATE 91
NOTE 275p.; Papers presented at the Seminar of Cross-Cultural Communication (Jyvaskyla, Finland, March 23, 1991) and the Finnish Seminar on Discourse Analysis (3rd, Jyvaskyla, Finland, November 15-16, 1991). For individual papers, see FL 020 042-063.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Applied Linguistics; *Discourse Analysis; Elementary Secondary Education; *Finnish; Foreign Countries; *Intercultural Communication; *International Communication; Preschool Education; *Sociolinguistics; Uncommonly Taught Languages

ABSTRACT

The papers collected in this volume, although taken from two separate seminars, represent for the most part various facets of the same problem area, that of cross-cultural discourse. Papers are: "Symbolic Internationalization: Beyond the Practical Use of Foreign Languages in Intercultural Education"; "How to Avoid Ethnocentricity and Stereotypes in Analyzing Another Culture: Methodological Considerations"; "Analyzing Service Encounters Cross-Culturally"; "The Problem of Norm in the Study of Cross-Cultural Discourse"; "Running against Time and Technology: Problems in Empirical Research into Written Business Communication"; "Innocents Abroad: The Politics of Cross-Cultural Communication"; "Linguistics and the Transnationalisation of Literature"; "Pitfalls of Cross-Cultural Communication Training: The Art of the Appropriate"; "Spoken Discourse of Finnish Speakers of English"; "Teaching Cultural Competence in the English Language Classroom in Finnish Schools"; "A Contrastive Analysis of the Spoken Discourse of Bilingual Swedish Finnish and Native Swedish School Children"; "Comprehension in NS-NNS Conversation"; "The Handling of Impositions of Native-Non-native Conversation"; "L2 Learner Repairs in Cross-Cultural Communication"; "Seeking Clarification in Oral Tests"; "Relevance of Repair for Self Explicating Artifacts"; "Special Features in Children's Conversations"; "Some Thoughts on the Study of Sign Language Talk"; "Information Structure in Finnish Live Ice Hockey Reporting"; "Relational Propositions in Text Comprehension Processes"; "Pragmalinguistic Features of Academic-Scientific Discourse"; and "Transaction and Interaction in Writing: The Case of Electronic Mail." (LB)

AFinLA Series

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

A. Tommola

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

No. 49

COMMUNICATION AND DISCOURSE ACROSS CULTURES AND LANGUAGES

AFinLA Yearbook 1991
AFinLA:n vuosikirja 1991

edited by
toimittaneet

Kari Sajavaara, David Marsh, and Tellervo Keto

Jyväskylä 1991

ED341271

FL 020 041

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SUOMEN SOVELTAVAN KIELITIETEEN YHDISTYKSEN

(AFinLA) JULKAISUJA

PUBLICATIONS DE L'ASSOCIATION FINLANDAISE

DE LINGUISTIQUE APPLIQUEE (AFinLA)

No. 49

COMMUNICATION AND DISCOURSE ACROSS CULTURES AND LANGUAGES

AFinLA Yearbook 1991

AFinLA:n vuosikirja 1991

edited by

toimittaneet

Kari Sajavaara, David Marsh, and Tellervo Keto

Jyväskylä 1991

© Suomen soveltavan kielitieteen yhdistys AFinLA 1991

ISBN 951-9388-36-2
ISSN 0781-0318

Kopi-Jyvä Oy, Jyväskylä 1991

PREFACE

The present volume is a collection of the papers which were presented at two seminars organized at the University of Jyväskylä in 1990. The Seminar on Cross-Cultural Communication was held on 23 March, and the 3rd Finnish Seminar on Discourse Analysis was organized on 15-16 November, in connection with the 20th Anniversary Symposium of the Finnish Association of Applied Linguistics AFinLA.

The original idea was to publish the seminar papers in two separate volumes in the Jyväskylä English Department series. After it was clear that the anniversary symposium of the AFinLA did not produce enough papers to constitute a full volume for the *AFinLA Yearbook 1991*, a decision was made to combine the papers of the two seminars for the yearbook volume. In many ways they represent various facets of one and the same problem area.

KS, DM & TK

CONTENTS

Harald Haarmann
Symbolic internationalization: beyond the practical use of foreign languages in intercultural communication 1

Hartmut Schröder
How to avoid ethnocentricity and stereotypes in analyzing another culture 17

Paula Kalaja
Analyzing service encounters cross-culturally: methodological considerations 37

Elise Kärkkäinen
The problem of norm in the study of cross-cultural discourse 45

Hilkka Yli-Jokipii
Running against time and technology: problems in empirical research into written business communication 59

Hannele Dufva
Innocents abroad: the politics of cross-cultural communication 73

Sirpa Leppänen
Linguistics and the transnationalisation of literature 91

David Marsh
Pitfalls of cross-cultural communication training: the art of the appropriate 97

Armi Aaltonen, Laura-Maria Hakokõngäs, Pekka Isomursu, Heli Kaarre, Riitta Kataja and Tuija Rapakko
Spoken discourse of Finnish speakers of English 111

Taru-Maija Heilala-Rasimov and Jarna Vesanen
Teaching cultural competence in the English language classroom in Finnish schools 119

Riitta Kataja
A contrastive analysis of the spoken discourse of bilingual Swedish Finnish and native Swedish school children 125

Tuija Nikko
Comprehension in NS-NNS conversation 131

Arja Piirainen-Marsh
The handling of impositions in native - non-native conversations 139

Liisa Salo-Lee
L2 learner repairs in cross-cultural communication 155

David Marsh
Seeking clarification in oral tests 167

Pirkko Raudaskoski
The relevance of repair for self explicating artifacts 173

Merja Karjalainen
Special features in children's conversations 181

Paul McIlvenny
Some thoughts on the study of sign language talk 187

Juhani Hiirikoski
Information structure in Finnish live ice hockey reporting: an answer to Tomlin (1983) 203

Sonja Tirkkonen-Condit
Relational propositions in text comprehension processes 239

Ellen Valle
Pragmalinguistic features of academic-scientific discourse: a model for analysis and a diachronic application 247

Paula Kalaja and Sirpa Leppänen
Transaction and interaction in writing: the case of electronic mail 267

SYMBOLIC INTERNATIONALIZATION: BEYOND THE PRACTICAL USE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Harald Haarmann
Helsinki

Internationalization as a factor in intercultural communication

Intercultural communication is a phenomenon with many facets, and an essential element of our modern age is the degree to which its importance has increased. This phenomenon must be seen as having many facets because its effectiveness is displayed on at least three basic levels:

a) Face-to-face interaction

When people who belong to different speech communities want to interact, they have to agree on the means of communication they are going to use. If none of the participants in the interaction has a command of the other's mother tongue, they have to choose a language of wider communication which may be a second or a foreign language (eg. English used among Hindi-speaking people and Tamils in India), a *lingua franca*, or a world language. (A *lingua franca* is not necessarily identical with a world language. For example, Swahili, used as a *lingua franca* among people in South-East Africa, is not a world language.) In a world-wide comparison, English is undoubtedly the language of widest communication, followed by French, a language which is more regionally limited.

b) Interaction on the institutional level

Intercultural communication is an elementary component of international relations (ie. political contacts, trade relations, business negotiations). On the institutional level the choice and the use of a language of wider communication are both more strongly formalized than they are on the level of face-to-face interaction. Recall that the number of languages in international organizations is fairly limited (eg. English, French, Spanish, Arabic, Russian, and Chinese as

official or working languages in the UN). As for the latter organization, German has enjoyed a special status since 1975. All proceedings of the UN General Assembly are translated into German, although German is not a working language. In most international organizations English plays a dominant part as an official or working language.

c) Interaction between languages as cultural vehicles

As a consequence of intercultural communication functioning on levels (a) and (b), the vocabulary of major and minor languages of the world has steadily internationalized (Akulenko 1972). English plays an ever increasing role as a promoting factor of the international neologisms which penetrate the lexical structures of local languages in the fields such as technology, industrial economy, commerce, and public relations, to name but a few. For example, about 80 percent of the Japanese vocabulary used in the automotive industry and in computer technology are of English origin (see Arakawa 1982 for an inventory of foreign terms in Japanese). English thus dominates the Japanese language in this regard, even though the Japanese have produced standards of high technology themselves for many years. The impact of English is also remarkable in those languages with the lexical structures which have long been the objects of control by language cultivation or planning. For example, almost 8,000 English neologisms have entered the Swedish vocabulary since 1945. French has also contributed its share in the process of internationalization. However, this is mostly related to colonial history, as in the case of Vietnamese (Haarmann 1986b), or to the importance of French in the domains of the so-called *francophonie* 'French-speaking community' (Tétu 1987).

Russian is among the languages of wider communication which promote internationalization. This is true within the borders of the Soviet Union, where the languages of more than 120 nationalities have been influenced by Russian (Achunzjanov et al. 1987). The Soviet type of internationalization (Russian *internacionalizacija*) includes lexical modernization as an important factor for promoting an internationalistic terminology in the national languages of the Soviet Union. Russian loanwords or calques on the basis of Russian expressions have penetrated many spheres of the vocabulary of the non-Russian languages spoken there. Elements of Russian origin may be found in the common lexical

stock used for daily interaction (see Kolesnik et al. 1987:99 ff. for Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Moldavian and other languages), and they are frequent in all domains of the technical-technological terminology (see Beloded and Deševriev 1977 for a survey). The Russian language also is the mediator of the West European terms which penetrated its lexical structures beginning about the year 1700 (Haarmann 1984). German has a hybrid status as regards lexical internationalization. On the one hand, its vocabulary has been strongly influenced by English (Wahrig 1987). On the other hand, German has exerted an influence on many languages both in Europe and overseas (Haarmann 1989b).

Intercultural communication on the three levels mentioned in the foregoing is most intense in such settings of bilingualism and multilingualism which include one of the world languages. As far as people speak a world language as a foreign language, their language use is, most likely, influenced by the way in which they use their mother tongue. As a consequence of regular interference in the use of foreign languages, local modes of speaking English, French, Russian etc. have emerged (ie. ethnic styles). English is particularly rich in ethnic styles; there are Hindish (English used by the Hindi-speaking people in India), Japalish (English used by the Japanese), Pringlish (English used by Puerto Ricans in the United States), and other styles (see Kachru 1982, 1983, Watanabe 1983).

In the computer age, an ever increasing internationalization has become a typical feature of intercultural communication, so that the one is intrinsically interwoven with the other. Many scholars have investigated various aspects of internationalization in different parts of the world. Research has almost exclusively concentrated on the practical functions of intercultural communication and the resulting internationalization. Communication is generally understood as a process of conveying information from one person to another, this being the equivalent of reducing the role of language to its informative-instrumental function. Language has many other functions, it serves to express emotions and intentions, attitudes, evaluations and various features of ethnic identity (see Haarmann 1986a for the latter). In addition to its instrumental function of conveying information, language, also in intercultural communication, displays the other functions mentioned in the foregoing. People who interact by using a world language carry values about that cultural vehicle. Many of those values are stereotypes which are closely associated with prestige

as a factor motivating people to use a world language (Haarmann 1990b). Taking into consideration the broad panorama of interactional functions of a language, two domains may be distinguished for the basic concept 'internationalization', namely *practical* and *symbolic* internationalization.

Symbolic internationalization, language stereotypes and the role of the mass media

The amazing thing about symbolic internationalization is that foreign languages play a role in intercommunication, although there is no practical use in conveying information. All the elements of foreign languages which fall under this category may be replaced by elements of a local language although, as a rule, this is not the case. Symbolic internationalization is a matter of *in*group communication. The foreign elements in commercial advertising, for example, are meant to address local people, not necessarily foreigners. Contrasting with this type of communication, practical internationalization pertains to the domain of *out*group communication, that is to communication between local people and foreigners. English is used in many countries where this is neither the mother tongue of people nor an official language of the state. Anybody who lives in such a country (eg. Germany, Finland, Japan) will have noticed that, in the world of entertainment and commercial advertising, English is used in various functions which are symbolic rather than practical. This may be singing a popular song in English, addressing the audience by using English phrases (eg. an entertainer who starts his show by saying "ladies and gentlemen"), using catch slogans, giving names to domestic products, or inserting English as an "exotic" spice in the layout of magazines.

People have become accustomed to the idea that using English in functions for which it is not practical on logical grounds is a popular feature of social life in modern industrialized society, and the most frequent answer which an investigator may elicit from a Japanese, German or Finn in this regard is that "English is fashionable". Such a statement on the non-practical role of English in a country which is not itself English-speaking actually conceals more than it reveals, since it does not contain any kind of explanation of why this is so. The status of English as a world language certainly plays a part in promoting its role in the emergence of symbolic internationalization. There can be no symbolic internationalization without practical internationalization. And yet, symbolic

internationalization relies on sentimental values of language use while, in practical internationalization, such values remain in the background. "English is fashionable" actually means that people throughout the world readily attribute values to this language which are associated with cosmopolitanism and the flair of modernity. In the modern world of steadily increasing intercommunication cosmopolitanism in particular seems to have developed into a maxim of thinking and lifestyle among those who can afford it, and into a symbol of social advance among those who do not belong to the more prosperous strata of society and only dream of a better life.

Associating the use of English with a cosmopolitan lifestyle is a widespread cultural stereotype. A cultural stereotype is never isolated, but forms instead part of a mosaic of stereotyping values which people carry along. According to findings in the fields of human biology, ethnology and social psychology, human beings make use of stereotypes and, by doing so, give shape to the profile of values attributed to the communities of which they are members; see Müller (1987) for a general outline, Haarmann (1986a) for the role of language. At the same time, foreign cultures are also stereotyped and their attributes are usually contrasted with those of the home culture. The symbolic values which are attributed to world languages are specific for each. For instance, the cosmopolitan touch of English in symbolic internationalization contrasts with the symbolic values of other world languages. With respect to the use of world languages in the Japanese business world, the profile of stereotyping values has been investigated in a recent project (see Haarmann 1989a:11 ff., 129 ff.). Alongside the stereotypes for English, cosmopolitanism and modernity, the following stereotyping values were identified for other languages: female elegance and refined taste for French, cosiness and comfortable lifestyle for German. These differences in the value profiles found for individual languages highlight differential structures of symbolic internationalization in Japan.

The symbolic functions of English in the world-wide process of internationalization are manifold, ranging from the popular use of slogans in the domain of public relations (eg. the slogan *discover Japan*, used by National Railways in Japan) to the naming of shops and agencies (eg. *pretty look* for a Finnish fashion boutique). The mass media play a key role in the promulgation of foreign languages in symbolic functions, and they have the edge regarding the intensity with which symbolic in'ernationalization manipulates the mind of

magazine readers, listeners of radio programs and television viewers. Commercial advertising through the mass media, in particular, makes ample use of cultural stereotypes and symbolic values associated with foreign languages in order to provide consumers with the intended "mental injection" of internationalization. For the Japanese settings, evidence has been given for the varied use of English in the information sector of the mass media, in entertainment and in commercial advertising (see Haarmann 1989a:38 ff.). Symbolic internationalization also works in the information sector. For instance, there is a program on Japanese television which is called *Sports Nine*. This is sports news at 9 PM. Despite the fashionable English title, the program, which is given in Japanese, addresses Japanese TV viewers.

Symbolic internationalization carries with it more than the mere cosmopolitan feel to communities where English is used in such a function. There also is the effect of foreign influence on the lexical structures of a local language. As a rule, English does not only influence local languages through practical internationalization, but also in its symbolic functions. The linguistic influence of English is apparent in the structures of local languages with respect to distinct language varieties. In the concrete case of the conditions of internationalization in Japan and, in particular, with respect to the Japanese language, English influence can be specified regarding the varieties of colloquial Japanese, literary Japanese, and technical varieties in the following way (see Figure 1).

Although the impact of English on a given local language may vary considerably in its concrete manifestation (eg. amount and/or semantic distribution of loanwords) it can be assumed with good reason that all the sources mentioned above may potentially work together in the process of influence. Nevertheless, the intensity with which one source or another may predominate depends on the sociocultural conditions in a given community. For instance, in Japan, source (3) dominates lexical innovation whereas, in Finland, this source plays a comparatively more moderate role for the formation of technical technology. This difference reflects the working of language cultivation including the control of lexical innovation in Finland, rather than a difference in the intensity of the English impact. In Japan, the kind of language cultivation typical of the Scandinavian countries (see *Sprdk i Norden* 1986) is unknown. To

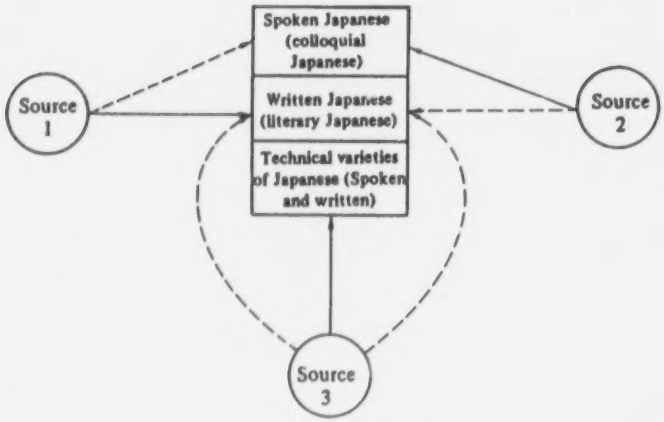

Figure 1. Three main sources of English influence on the modern Japanese language.

point out another contrast, while source (2) - symbolic internationalization - has a strong impact on colloquial Japanese, in Finland, the Anglicization of the spoken language is, arguably, more apparent in the specific domain of urban slang (ie. Finnish *stadin slangi* 'the informal colloquial koiné of the greater Helsinki area') than in everyday spoken Finnish.

An outline of symbolic internationalization in Finland

Finland is said to be the most Americanized country in Europe, a claim which is not without some justification, but one which needs to be considered critically. It is true as regards the speedy transfer of information, trends in fashion, and cultural items from the United States to Finland. However, it is not true regarding the frequent use of English in symbolic functions. As in Japan, symbolic internationalization through the media of English "copies" neither American standards of language usage nor US-American cultural stereotypes. Instead, it creates local (ie. Finnish) patterns of personal behavior characterized

by a superficial cosmopolitan touch. In Finland, as in Japan or Germany, the symbolic functions of English are predominantly "home-made". Therefore, although elements of English in general, and of its American variety in particular, serve as exotic spices for language usage in the public and private sectors, this cannot be labelled "Americanization".

In Finnish society the use of English in symbolic functions is, by its very nature, more diffuse than any form of practical communication in which transmitting information is the main goal. Distinguishing domains of practical language usage, thus, appears to be much easier than identifying ranges where the use of English is symbolic. And yet, an attempt is made here to distinguish main ranges of symbolic internationalization in the following way:

1. The use of English for addressing the public

1.1. The use of English in the press
(eg. the section title *city young* in a newspaper with job offerings for young people; this section addresses Finnish people, not foreigners. This specific symbolic function of English is clearly distinct from the practical function as in the newspaper section *English news in brief* which is intended to inform tourists from abroad during the summer months);

1.2. The use of English in financial affairs
(eg. *gocard* as the name of a credit card for younger people).

2. The use of English in the business world

2.1. The use of English for naming companies, shops and agencies
(eg. *my garden* - flower shop, *boutique ladybird* - women's fashion, *innovation* - marketing agency);

2.2. The use of English for naming facilities for public services
(eg. English names for restaurants, coffee shops, pubs, and discos);

2.3. The use of English for naming domestic products
(eg. *green* - skin-care cream, *young color* - stockings, *black secret* - licorice);

2.4. The use of English in shop advertising
(eg. *see you!* used as a slogan by Akateeminen Kirjakauppa to catch the eye of customers);

2.5. The use of English in commercial advertising
(eg. using English slogans, catch-words, or product names in mass media advertising, on the radio, on television, in the press: *join the team; the look of 1989; just is must*, etc.).

3. The use of English in entertainment

3.1. English songs composed and sung by Finns

3.2. English elements inserted into the ordinary Finnish language usage in entertainment programs
(eg. addressing people by saying *hello, ladies and gentlemen!*).

4. The use of English in face-to-face interaction among Finns

4.1. English elements and phrases in colloquial speech
(eg. *see you later, bye-bye, have a nice day*);

4.2. English elements in urban colloquial koinés

The overview presented in the foregoing may surprise readers because it covers a wider range of a symbolic use of English in Finnish society than even many Finns may be aware of. And yet it still shows nowhere near the variety it does in the case of Japan where symbolic internationalization becomes apparent in not less than ten main domains with more than twenty-five subdivisions (see Haarmann 1989a:34 ff.). The impact of symbolic English use in the public and private sectors in Japan is much stronger than in Finland. In both countries, nevertheless, symbolic internationalization is the key to understanding the

presence of numerous "superfluous" loanwords from English which have been transferred into the lexicon of colloquial speech. An interesting example is provided by the Japanese treatment of the English adjective *new*. This has been adopted into the spoken language in the expression *o-nyu desu, ne?* 'It's new, isn't it?'. This expression makes an ironical reference to the frequent use of *new* in commercial advertising (Haarmann 1989a:17 ff., 244). The usage of the English affirmative particle *yes* in Finnish is also worth commenting on in this context. The word is used as an expression for something good (eg. Finnish *minusta se on ihan jees* 'in my opinion this is really good'). The adoption of elements such as Japanese *nyu* or Finnish *jees* in (younger) people's usage of their native language can only be reasonably explained as a consequence of symbolic internationalization, since it serves no practical need of intercommunication.

It has to be emphasized that English is not the only source of symbolic internationalization in Finland, although it has the strongest impact on native language usage among the Finnish public and the deepest influence on the lexical structures of Finnish of any of the world languages participating in intercultural communication. The influence of French, for its part, can be traced in the strategies of name-giving for Finnish shops and agencies. Following world-wide stereotypes and social cliches about French culture and language, French names are given to shops for women's fashion (eg. *le chapeau* 'the hat' or *le jardin* de Mélanie 'Mélanie's garden'), to hair dressers' and beauty parlors (eg. *salon d'art* or *femme fatale*), and to fine restaurants (eg. *brasserie* or *mistral*). However, French plays a less important role in symbolic internationalization for Finns than does Italian, which ranks second after English in popularity. The distribution of Italian names for shops and agencies in Finland is wider than in the case of French names (eg. *con amore* - flower shop, *finella* - women's underwear, *avanti!* - orchestra), not to mention the great variety of Italian names for restaurants and pizzerias.

A few years ago, Finnish marketing experts started a campaign for the promotion of Italian in commercial advertising (eg. recent slogans such as *bene! bene!* or Italian names such as *bella bimba* for a shop offering children's fashion). The marketing experts do not seem to have achieved their goals thusfar, and there is little chance of further progress. This is primarily due to the fact that commercial managers seem to be ignorant of the fact that for the Finnish public

Italian is associated with stereotypes which differ from the English ones and, therefore, Italian names or slogans cannot simply "replace" slogans in that language. Consequently, Italian as a source of symbolic internationalization cannot "occupy" the rank held by English. There is an additional factor supporting ignorance in the field: symbolic internationalization has so far not attracted the interest of researchers working in the field of marketing. As an example, I mention Panula's (1988) study on viewers' attitudes toward television advertising where the impact of foreign languages is altogether neglected. The latter aspect (ie. foreign language use in television advertising) has been thoroughly investigated for the Japanese situation in Haarmann (1989a:129 ff.). In Japan, French ranks second and Italian third in the popularity of world languages in symbolic functions among the Japanese public (see Haarmann 1989a:21 ff., 263 ff.).

German occupies a comparatively small niche in symbolic internationalization. It seems that in the two countries under discussion here, Japan and Finland, German is associated with the notion of *Gemütlichkeit* 'cosiness, feeling comfortable', which is manifested, for example, in the German name for a Japanese beer (*Märzen*) or for a Finnish rural hotel (*Gasthaus*). German is among the languages which play a marginal role in symbolic internationalization in the two countries. Other languages may serve as strongly "exotic" spices rather than carrying clearly delimited stereotypes. There is Fazer's *geisha* chocolate with the associated stereotype of Japanese lovely femininity. In Japan, on the other hand, "exotic Finnishness" has conquered the world of commercial advertising. A Japanese producer of cosmetics offers a set of body lotions and skin creams under the collective name *Hämeenlinna*. In the photo setting of the advert, there is a Finnish landscape with a lake and swans, accompanied by an almost poetical text in which the magic way the clean air of northern Europe brightens female skin is praised.

Plans have been made for a comparative study of the Finnish settings of symbolic internationalization in advertising in a future project. Indicative of a better understanding of the actual importance of symbolic internationalization in the Finnish public is the following recent statement: "The book [Haarmann 1989a] is interesting to read because its theme is very relevant to the era of internationalization we are living in. The use of linguistically unrelated foreign

languages in our country is something any Finn can easily notice" (Huhta 1990:22).

Symbolic and practical internationalization - The essential fusion of intercommunication in the computer age

Although symbolic and practical internationalization have been distinguished here as individual forces of intercommunication they frequently interfere with each other when functioning and can thus only be neatly separated for the purpose of sociolinguistic analysis. In daily interaction, the symbolic aspects of foreign language use as described in the foregoing are closely associated with the practical functions, and vice versa. For example, the prestige of English as a world language, although not unique, is borne by the participants in an international meeting on financial affairs, even though their main interest lies in the treatment of concrete information. On the other hand, the conveying of selected information may also be of interest for a marketing manager who addresses TV viewers in a commercial spot even though the cosmopolitan feel which is emphasized by the use of an English slogan is a stronger motor of attraction than any concrete information.

In many cultural settings in Finland, symbolic and practical internationalization may be closely related, although their different kinds of influence can still be observed. A good example of this is provided by the monthly magazine *City*, which appears in Helsinki and which is published in two versions. The main language of the *City lehti* is Finnish and, therefore, it addresses Finns. The Finnish version of this monthly is an illustrative forum of symbolic internationalization, given the impact of English in its layout, and in the commercial texts in particular. The other version, *City in English*, reflects practical internationalization. It addresses Finns and foreigners alike as a source of information about cultural events in the capital. The level of information offered in the *City in English* is much higher than it is in the *City lehti*, since the latter is more oriented towards commercial advertising. A second example is provided by the foreign names for companies and shops encountered in Finland. Among the most frequently used elements is the ethnic term FIN(N)-, which features in many names (see Figure 2).

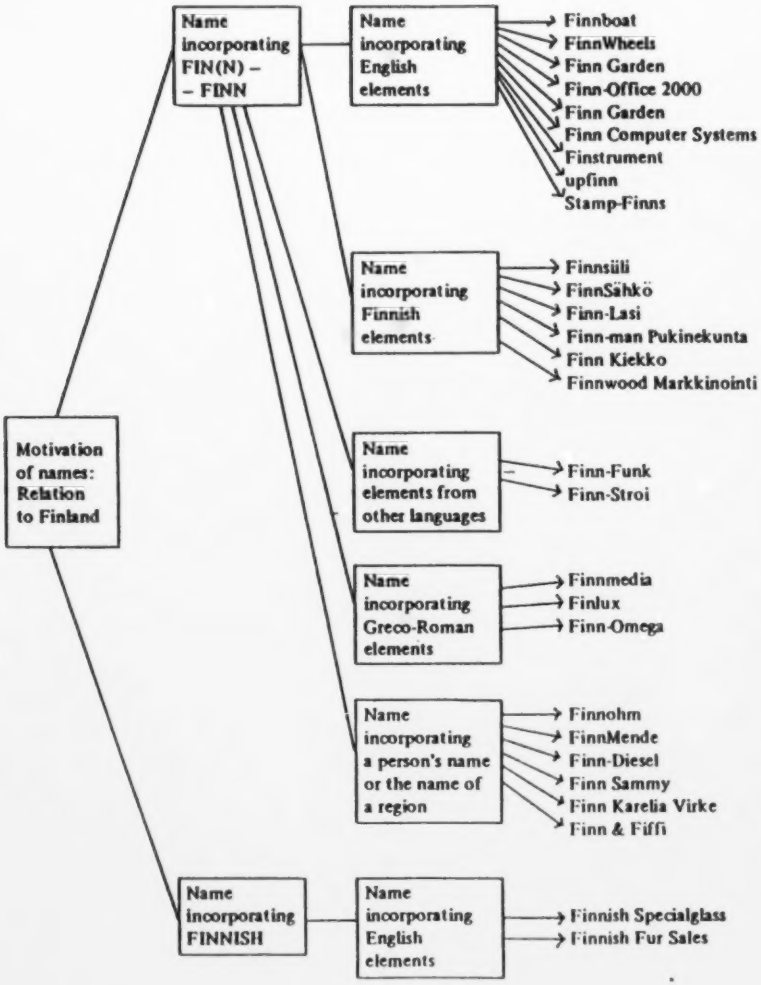

Figure 2. Types of names for Finnish companies and agencies which incorporate elements from foreign languages and indicate a relation to Finland.

Some of the names making reference to Finland and Finnish settings serve practical functions, such as in FINNAIR which emphasizes practical intercommunication between Finns and foreigners. In addition, the use of English in this connection is indicative of the dominant role of this world language in aviation. A similar motivation is true with a name such as FINN-STROI, which symbolizes Finnish-Soviet cooperation in the construction business. However, in most of the names listed here the element FINN serves symbolic functions (eg. in *Finn Garden, upfinn, Finn Wheels*) because those Finnish firms do business mainly with Finns, not with foreigners. It is noteworthy, however, that the signal of "Finnishness" in the business world is also given in the form of domestic expressions such as Finnish *suomalainen* (eg. *Suomalainen Kirjakauppa*) or *Suomi* (eg. *Suomen Yhdyspankki*), thus keeping up traditional patterns of name-giving.

Symbolic internationalization is an elementary feature of our industrialized society, and the phenomena accompanying foreign language use will accompany our daily habits of communication as long as commercial advertising, mass media entertainment, and the feeling of cosmopolitanism remain ingredients of our modern lifestyle. In other words, the times are gone when the national language sufficed to satisfy the communicational needs, both practical and emotional, of the speech community. Whether we accept the symbolic functions of foreign languages as a fashion or reject the associated stereotyping and the linguistic influence as a potential danger to national culture, we have to live with it. The most flexible attitude towards symbolic internationalization is perhaps to acknowledge that it is indicative of human nature which, as we know, cannot live without emotions and a good portion of irrationalism in our otherwise technocratic world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Achunzjanov, E. M., P. J. Skorik, N. M. Tereščenko, A. P. Feoktistov and L. A. Pokrovskaja 1987. Russkij jazyk-odin iz osnovnych istočnikov razvitija i obogaščenija jazykov narodov SSSR, in J. D. Deseriev (ed.), *Vzaimovlijanie i vzaimoobogascenie jazykov narodov SSSR*, Moscow, 85-99.

Akulenko, V. V. 1972. *Voprosy internacionalizacii slovarnogo sostava jazyka*. Char'kov.

Arakawa, S. 1982. *Gairaigo jiten: dictionary of loan-words.* Tokyo (2nd ed. 1977, 2nd printing).

Beloded, I. K. and J. D. Dešeriev (eds.) 1977. *Naučno-techničeskaja revoljucija i funktionirovanie jazykov mira.* Moscow.

Haarmann, H. 1984. Zu den historischen und rezenten Sprachkontakten des Russischen, in H. Jachnow (ed.), *Handbuch des Russisten: Sprachwissenschaft und angrenzende Disziplinen,* Wiesbaden, 482-515.

Haarmann, H. 1986a. *Language in ethnicity: a view of basic ecological relations.* Contributions to the Sociology of Language 44. Berlin, New York, Amsterdam.

Haarmann, H. 1986b. Zum Fortleben des französischen Spracherbes in Vietnam: Fragmente einer romanischen 'Sprachlandschaft' in Ostasien, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie,* 102, 479-490.

Haarmann, H. 1989a. *Symbolic values of foreign language use: from the Japanese case to a general sociolinguistic perspective.* Contributions to the Sociology of Language 51. Berlin - New York.

Haarmann, H. 1989b. Zur Eigendynamik von Lehnwörtern in Kontaktsprachen des Deutchen, *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik,* 56, 298-308.

Haarmann, H. 1990a. Language as a seismograph of acculturation: sociolinguistic parameters of language contacts in the Asian context, *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 1, 71-85.

Haarmann, H. 1990b. Sprache und Prestige: sprachtheoretische Parameter zur Formalisierung einer zentralen Beziehung, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 106, 1-21.

Huhta, A. 1990. Review of Haarmann 1989a, *Kielikeskusuutisia* 2, 1990, 20-22.

Kachru, B. B. (ed.) 1982. *The other tongue: English across cultures.* Urbana, Chicago, London.

Kachru, B. B. 1983. *The Indianization of English: the English language in India.* Delhi.

Kolesnik, N. G., L. I. Lucht, T. B. Krjučkova, G. A. Kalimova and Z. G. Isaeva. 1987. Sovetskaja literatura o vlijanii russkogo jazyka na jazyki narodov SSSR, in J. D. Dešeriev (ed.), *Vzaimovlijanie i vzaimoobogascenie jazykov narodov SSSR,* Moscow, 99-130.

Leitner, G. (ed.) 1983. Language and mass media, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* Vol. 40 (special issue).

Müller, K. E. 1987. *Das magische Universum der Identität. Elementarformen sozialen Verhaltens: ein ethnologischer Grundriß*. Frankfurt - New York.

Panula, J. 1988. *Katsojien suhtautuminen televisiomainontaan*. Turun kauppakorkeakoulun julkaisuja, sarja A-6: 1988. Turku.

Språk i Norden/Sprog i Norden 1986. Årsskrift for Nordisk språksekretariat og språknemndene i Norden. Nordisk Språksekretariats Skrifter 5. Gyldendal.

Tétu, M. 1987. *La Francophonie: histoire, problématique et perspectives*. Montréal - Québec.

Wahrig, G. (in cooperation with H.-P. Wahrig) 1987. *Fremdwörterlexikon*. München.

Watanabe, T. 1983. *Japalish no susume*. Tokyo.

HOW TO AVOID ETHNOCENTRICITY AND STEREOTYPES IN ANALYZING ANOTHER CULTURE

Hartmut Schröder
University of Vaasa

At the most global level, the fate of all people, indeed the fate of the earth, depends upon negotiations among representatives of governments with different cultural assumptions and ways of communicating. (Tannen 1985, 203.)

Introduction

In the present paper, I suppose, it is not necessary either to mention that cultural differences are to be found within written business communication or to give any enlightening examples to demonstrate that these might cause painful misunderstandings in cross-cultural communication.[1] Rather, I will deal with methodological problems caused by an *ethnocentric view* in analyzing another culture, and, in doing so, I would like to discuss some aspects of *culture analysis* in general (the first chapter of my paper). Furthermore, I will talk about the *stereotypes* about other cultures and their functions in cross-cultural communication (the second chapter of my paper). Last, but not least, I will present as an example of the use of stereotypes in written business communication some texts from an advertisement campaign of the German Mercedes-Benz, which contain stereotypes about Finland.

[1] According to the theoretical claim *commercial activity* is indeed rationally guided activity, "however in practice one very soon notices that even within a (relatively) homogenous culture other, often indeterminate factors come into play, which for the present can be described as interpersonal" (Beneke & Nothnagel 1988, 269). According to Paul Watzlawick, Beneke & Nothnagel assume that in the case of commercial activity, the *communication surrounding the object* goes hand in hand with the *communication surrounding the relationship*.

The problem of ethnocentricity in analyzing another culture

The general problem in the social sciences, the *identity of subject and object in research*, arises in a particular way in cross-cultural research: here the scientist himself is always a member of a certain culture, so that the danger of ethnocentric misapprehensions is present. *Ethnocentricity in cross-cultural research* means that in describing and assessing foreign cultures the norms of one's own culture are taken to be absolutes, and the researcher "is no longer able to meet the challenge of understanding foreign cultures ... because of so many burdensome layers of categories" (Gries & Voigt 1989:171). Trommsdorf (1989a:776) observes from a sociological standpoint that "the familiar methodological and comparative problems of empirical science" become more acute in intercultural comparisons and a particular problem is observed in that "a procedure may well be valid in one culture, but not in another culture". Trommsdorf argues:

> Features that are identical in form can have different meanings in different cultures and features that are divergent in form can have the same meaning. Blind retranslations and the use of formally identical questions, scales and units of observation are therefore no solution for ensuring equivalence of indicators.

In cross-cultural research with a linguistic and foreign language teaching -orientation the methods of sociological *intercultural comparisons*[2] (as expounded by E. Durkheim) have so far received little or no attention. A methodological discussion is - it seems to me - in every respect unsatisfactory as it appears in the relevant publications of the new research field *intercultural communication*, so that much research "[...is] exposed to the constant danger of remaining anecdotal" (Beneke & Nothnagel 1988:270). Beneke and Nothnagel are right to point out that the results of cross-cultural research consist of mere "highlights", which in turn only attract attention when seen against the background of a

[2] There is a wealth of literature on intercultural comparison in sociology under the relevant entries in sociological dictionaries and in the articles in the anthology by Trommsdorf (1989b).

situation taken to the "normal" (1988:270). As regards "intercultural semiotics"[3] Beneke & Nothnagel are sceptical:

The very question of *what* should be semioticized and *how* is a question of specific cultures. The requirement for semiotics that are valid across cultures is difficult to fulfil. (1988:270.)

With that the theme of ethnocentricity in cross-cultural *research* has been addressed. Let me now, shortly, deal with some general methodological problems of culture analysis by referring to Raymonde Carroll's book *Cultural misunderstandings: the French-American experience.*

According to Carroll, "cultural misunderstandings can easily occur and can cause pain, because they are not recognized as cultural - as owing to differences in cultural presuppositions of which we are unaware" (p. xii). The concept of *culture* is understood by Carroll as "the logic by which I give order to the world" (p. 3); *"culture is a way of seeing the world, not a right of prior membership"* (p. 143).

From the point of view of cross-cultural communication I see the actual problem in the fact that the most important "part of this logic is tacit, invisible" (p. 3); this part "consists in the premises from which we constantly draw our conclusions. We are not conscious of these premises because they are, for us, verities. They are everything which 'goes without saying' for us and which is therefore transparent".

As soon as different cultures come into contact with each other it seems that certain conflicts simply cannot be avoided. This is because our 'natural' ways of seeing the world and our 'verities' do not coincide (p. 3). Furthermore, "since it is in the very nature of a verity to be self-evident and not to be challenged, I will not attribute the uneasiness or hurt I feel in a conflict situation to an erroneous interpretation on my part. Instead I will attribute this difficulty to one, or some, of the other's inherent characteristics" (pp. 3-4). In this fact we

[3] I do not see the starting point for cross-cultural research in linguistics but in *semiotics* as a general theory of linguistic *and* non-linguistic sign systems. From an intercultural viewpoint in particular, the inclusion of non-linguistic sign systems in oral as well as written communication is shown to be absolutely necessary.

have to see one important reason for the rise of *stereotypes* and *prejudices* about other cultures.

Concerning cultural prejudices and stereotypes I agree with Carroll (p. 4) in the following: "*if stereotypes are hardy, it is not because they contain a grain of truth but rather because they express and reflect the culture of those who espouse them.* Thus when I - a French person - say, 'American children are spoiled and impolite,' I am not expressing a basic truth but referring rather to the French conception of child raising, which I unconsciously learned to regard as truth, whereas it is merely my (French) truth."

The researcher who deals with cultural analysis must be aware of the cultural frame created by his own culture and language backgrounds if she or he wants to understand another culture with 'typical' characteristics. In the words of Carroll: "I must become aware of my own culture, of my cultural presuppositions, of the implicit premises that inform my interpretation, of my verities. Only after taking this step, which is in fact the most difficult one, can I begin to understand the cultural presuppositions of the other, the implicit premises which inform a formerly opaque text." (p. 4.) Furthermore, we have to take into account "(a) that my culture is not something external to me, I create it just as it creates me; it is no more outside me than my thoughts; it produces me and I produce it; (b) and that *cultural propositions*, the premises of which are invisible to me, *exist at such a level of abstraction as to allow for and include a very wide range of variations at the level of experience. In other words, two people can act in very different ways and at the same time reaffirm the same cultural proposition at the level of production of meaning.*" (p. 5.)

To sum up, I see *cultural analysis* - according to Carroll - "*as a means of perceiving as 'normal' things which initially seem 'bizarre' or 'strange'* among people of a culture different from one's own. To manage this, I must imagine a universe in which the 'shocking' act can take place and seem normal, can take on meaning without even being noticed. In other words, I must try to enter, for an instant, the cultural imagination of the other" (p. 2). Last but not least, let me point out that *cultural analysis* "*does not concern itself with value judgements*" (p.2); cultural analysis has to avoid any form of ethnocentricity.

How we can actually perform a cultural analysis? According to Carroll, we have to take into account the three following steps:

Firstly *I must "avoid all attempts at discovering the deep-seated reasons for the cultural specifity of such-and-such a group.* That is to say that I must avoid the temptation of psychological or psychoanalystic explanations ('because American mothers ...;' 'because French people can't stand authority ...;') I must also avoid the temptation of explanations that are ecological ('because the Xs lack protein'), geographical ('because they live in the thin mountain air'); meterological ('because of the abundance of rain'), or demographic ('because the opposition between city and country'). I must avoid the temptation of economic explanations ('because they are capitalists'), of religious explanations ('the French Catholics' 'the American Puritans'), of historical explanations (the role of invasions, wars), or even of sociological explanations ('the American family is such because people move around a lot'), and so on." (pp. 5-6.) This is because *the job of cultural analysis is not "to find out why things are as they are" (p. 6); rather, the job of cultural analysis is "to understand the system of communication by which meaning is produced and received within a group."* (p. 6.)

Secondly cultural analysis consists of listening to my own discourse and learning "to recognize the value judgments I include when I (sincerely) believe I am simply describing something" (p. 6). All this concerns my personal prejudices against a culture different from my own. If these prejudices are consciously going to be reflected as a result of my own cultural background it will be obvious to me that I have to do only with certain forms of ethnocentricity. In other words: The features I criticise in another culture are simply either the distance from my own culture or absence. "What I am saying, in fact, is that the Xs do not have 'my' sense of whatever it is." (p. 6) To avoide prejudices and stereotypes, "I must try to imagine a context in which this experience is no longer shocking or unpleasant, try to imagine a universe in which what was 'bizarre' becomes 'normal'" (p. 7).

Thirdly "cultural analysis consists of trying to discover, by analyzing other experiences, written texts ... or oral text ..., other domains in which the same cultural proposition seems to be confirmed, but in an apparently different fashion." (p. 9.)

Apart from these steps given by Carroll I perceive amongst other things the following possibilities for the avoidance of stereotypes and an ethnocentric viewpoint in cross-cultural analyses, which are only given briefly here and merely reflect experiences from project work:

First of all it is necessary to maintain an *interdisciplinary approach*. Since cross-cultural research is not about identifying language differences, but about differences in communication (which are only partially manifested in language) against the background of various systems of cultural values,[4] it is necessary to link up with *semiotics* as well as *sociology* and *anthropology*. The methods of the empirical social sciences (see above) and of field research in modern cultural anthropology[5] should be especially useful in this link-up. Furthermore, question formulations and methods from the *theory of literary reception* should give important impulses, in so far as the *effect* of texts can be included in cross-cultural research.

At the present time it *is not possible apprehend cultures in all their complexity*. Since the abstract overall communication of a certain society is subdivided horizontally into a seemingly inordinate number of relatively self-contained areas of communication, and furthermore within these areas there is, in turn, a marked vertical division according to the specific communication situation, a complete understanding of the communicative reality would seem to be excluded. Moreover, homogeneous cultures are in any case an abstraction, since in reality social, regional, national, ethnic, religious, political and other factors are present within a culture society and can possibly exert a greater influence on the communicative behaviour of the individual than the supposedly common culture. Finally, communicative behaviour is essentially an individual act so that generalizations are definitely ruled out.

---

[4] By *cultural difference* I understand a difference in two cultures in their understandings and perceptions of what sort of communicative activity is expected of whom in certain situations. Cultural differences, therefore, are not to be found on the level of the different language systems, but concern the norms and conventions of activity through language and other means of communication.

[5] Cf., for example, the review of research strategies in cultural anthropology in Suojanen (1982) and of empirical methods of field research in Suojanen & Saressalo (1982).

Because of this complexity of the determinants of communicative behaviour, puported cultural differences (ie. established as such in empirical research) can only ever be seen as an *approximation to the communicative reality*; for that reason they are unsuited for judging, or even for making predictions about, other cultures. Descriptions of cultural differences are at their most meaningful when *small, selected and well isolated areas of communication* are researched, as for example in our project on company and product presentations. A generalization of research results from such a basis is, by their nature, excluded.

As long as cross-cultural research is carried out by people, it runs the general risk, when forming hypotheses, of basing arguments on *stereotypes* and/or, in categorizing, of creating stereotypes. In this connection it should be pointed out that it was through the more intensive examination of aspects of intercultural communication that new stereotypes were created and old ones gained a wider currency as well as a "scientific gloss". This is especially true - I think - for stereotypes about Finland and the Finns. *Research work in bicultural research groups* can offer a solution, although even this can easily lead to biased viewpoints due to the simple contrast of two cultures. Thus for instance the characterization of Finns as reticent is only valid in comparison with certain other cultures, but has no absolute validity. Therefore a *multilateral approach* would recommend itself, that is, the inclusion of many different cultures and cooperation between researchers from many different countries. In that way, particular categories of research such as *reticence* and *directness* could be further relativized and new viewpoints found as well as differentiating more accurately between individual cultures on a scale than if one hastily carries out a merely bilateral and thus almost always dichotomous contrast.

The use and functions of stereotypes in cross-cultural communication

Since stereotypes have a strong influence on comparitive cultural research as well as on intercultural communication itself, this concept will be analyzed in more depth in the following. The term *stereotype* originally comes from sociology, or social psychology, where it is taken to mean an ingrown impression which a social group has of itself *(autostereotype)* or of another social group *(heterostereotype)*. Often the term stereotype is linked with the term *prejudice*, by which it acquires a negative connotation. Since the development of

sociolinguistics the term has had an increasing presence in linguistics too, as documented in, for example, the fairly detailed *Bibliography on research on cultural prejudice and stereotypes* by Marianne Kranz (1987) with over 350 entries.

From a linguistic point of view, Bussmann (1983:504) understands by a stereotype a "term for describing mostly subconscious, deeply rooted judgements/prejudices that are specific to certain groups and emotionally charged"; in communication they generally offer an "aid to assessment", contribute to a mastery of the situation and fulfil a "relief function" in conflict situations. Thus the *functionality of the stereotype for its bearers* (ie. its *cognitive* and *social function*) can be further complimented by reference to its (often) self-fulfilling effect: *stereotypes (like rumours) create the reality from whose supposed existence they originate since they direct the social experiences of their bearers.*[6] Thus despite the lack of an empirical basis (ie. without actual verification) they constitute a *coherent world* which eases orientation and social behaviour even in new and unsure situations.

Evidently, stereotypes in intercultural communication present a particular problem area since here it is not only a question of communication between different social groups, but unfamiliar languages and cultures are also involved. Since verbal communication is mostly not *explicit* and *direct* - see for example Tannen (1985:205): "most communication is characterized by indirectness"[7] -

[6] This refers to the cognitive function of stereotypes. Cf. also the article by van Dijk (1983:382): "This means that concrete experiences with ethnic minorities are stored in models, but, at the same time, that people have more general scripts and attitudes about ethnic relations, which have a more schematic nature. ... Obviously, people without direct contacts with minority groups will tend to draw information from their grop schemata rather than from models, except for the models built on the information derived from personal communications and the mass media".

[7] From a philosophical point of view and related to the system of language, references are to be found to this also in Holenstein (1985: 167-170): "Unlike logical languages, natural languages are not systems rooted in explicit and constant arrangements of meaning. In them context, time and space also determine the meaning of the expression. Semantic flexibility takes precedence over unambiguity, contextual sensitivity over meaning independent of context. ... Natural language utterences are a mixture of redundancy and ellipses, of seemingly superflyous additions and unhesitating omissions. ... Situational connections are more important than systematical classifications and thanks to their variability they are also more stylistically appealing. In efficient

contextualization cues play an important role in getting the message through. The term contextualization cues, coined by Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz (1976), is understood by Tannen in the following - somewhat abbreviated - way: "*these signals indicate a metamessage about how the message ... is intended*" (1985:204). In a general article about *contextualization* Auer (1986:41) summarizes the "central idea" of this concept:

In order to be able to interact quickly and harmoniously with one another, we must not only make 'meaningful' utterances, but also create contexts within which our utterances can be understood. Such contexts are schematic continuums of knowledge that attach to each other information of various types and in varying strength and thus ease assimilation and the production of linguistic and other acts by exposing redundancies.

Contextualization cues are now realized by means of *linguistic* as well as *non-linguistic means of textualization*, but - unlike language - are themselves not codified. As Auer says (1986:26):

No contextualization cue has an 'inherent' meaning, which is hard and fast and determines its interpretations. Rather the individual contextualization cues are flexible, ie. they can be used for a number of functions. An unequivocal classification of contextualization cues as schemata is not possible.

Furthermore, as a result of much research (latterly Kotthof 1989) one can assume that contextualization cues are culture-bound and "thus lead to misunderstandings and stereotyping despite the redundancy already touched upon" (Auer 1986:27). That is to say that even the linguistically more or less competent (but foreign) non-native speaker does not or does not sufficiently know and recognize a) the contextualization cues of the destination language when communicating with a native speaker so that he inadequately interprets non-explicit linguistic behaviour by his communication partner and b) is inadequately interpreted by his communication partners in the foreign language by the use of contextualization cues from his own culture[8]. In both cases the result is that existing stereotypes about the alien person gain "confirmation"

---

communication, knowledge is not only communicated, but also assumed."

[8] Kotthof (1989:24) also refers to this: "There are culture-typical and subtle hints for what schema and framing should be activated and what footing should be produced, since in principle the possibilities are many."

through social experiences, so that in this way stereotypes are reinforced, and/or through overgeneralization and simplification of the social experience with the alien person stereotypes are created which then become guiding in future communication. Here intercultural communication finds itself in a viscious circle, from which the only escape is on the *metacommunicative level*: ie. the rules of the communication must be negotiated and the content of the communication must be made as explicit as possible.

It should be stressed here that miscommunication is caused not only by language differences, but even more by culture differences which are usually manifested on the level of the *contextualization cues* and concern here primarily the non-linguistic contextualization cues. To that extent, I do not see the problem of address by the formal or informal "you" ("Sie" or "Du") in German-Finnish communicaton primarily as an expression of a cultural difference, rather as a linguistic problem which can hardly lead to damaging miscommunication in so far as competent communication partners can be assumed on either side (which is almost always the case in business communication). If, for example a Finn uses the informal "you" ("Du") with a German who only has a very limited knowledge of Finnish and has had contact with Finns, the German will hardly regard this as an affront, but will understand that a *faux pas* has occurred as a result of other linguistic customs - and that it moreover is easily put to rights (for example by consistent use of the formal "you" ["Sie"] thereafter).[9] Much more significant and intrusive, however, are the various (culture-bound) customs in *forms of address*; mentioning the forenames and surname (maybe even the title and other attributes) of the other, looking at the other person whilst addressing him, as well as other social niceties. Here culture differences are present as it is a question of differing cultural value systems: the frequent use of the name serves in some cultures as an expression of interest in the communication partner or of respect towards him; in other cultures it can token a certain intimacy; and in certain cultures the mention of a proper name can even be forbidden.[10] In written communication there are differing norms governing whether one may/should use the forename

[9] Addressing people with the formal and informal "you" ("Sie", "Du") is not necessarily an expression of differing cultural value systems since there are many other linguistic and non-linguistic substitutions for the polite form of address.

[10] Cf. eg. the report by Podder-Theising (1984) about "Hindus today".

(with or without surname) when addressing someone, whether one may/should abbreviate it or omit it completely[11], whether an explicit address is usual at the opening of a letter and whether substitute forms (eg. passive forms) may/should be used.[12]

Stereotypes in advertising

To conclude my article I would like to illustrate the use and function of stereotypes through examples of German-Finnish business communication, for which I shall first a) attempt a broadening of the term stereotype and b) relate the concept of the stereotype to written communication. By *broadening the term stereotype* I mean that the term here is not only employed in connection with attitudes and opinions towards social groups, but that attitudes and prejudices towards other countries and conditions are implied, in so far as these attitudes or prejudices have a generally collective character, are emotionally charged and overgeneralized and do not or only partially correspond to the facts. As regards *written communication*, I believe that stereotypes firstly manifest themselves in (written) texts and secondly that stereotypes towards other cultures can be

[11] Stolt (1988) comments: "The use of the forename is very different even in two so closely related language communities as German and Swedish. My example does not concern oral use in address, but signatures. In the 50's there was a professor in Uppsala who was known to the students by the nickname 'the professor with no forename'. He had taught in Greifswald for several terms and there he had acquired the convention of signing his announcements on the noticeboard with his surname only. When he retained this habit in Sweden he deviated from the local norm and therefore the expectations of the recipients. The surname alone without even initials is seen in Sweden as alienating or even curt. The reaction to any deviation from social norms is generally negative".

[12] There are many examples of cultural differences on this level in the German and Finnish company and product presentations, where the conventions of the native culture are generally carried over into translations.

created through (written) texts[13]. At the same time (written) texts are an important means for dispelling and dismantling stereotypes.

In my examples, which I would like to discuss briefly here, I refer to an advertising text in German by Mercedes-Benz about the "touring guarantee" of that car producer from the magazine *Der Spiegel* and to a Finnish text (in German) from the brochure *Kreativität als Rohstoff: Innovatives Finnland* (*Creativity as a raw material: innovative Finland*), which was issued in 1987 by the Finnish Foreign Trade Association in connection with an information campaign for the German-speaking market. The Mercedes-Benz text is a pure advertising text, the Foreign Trade Association's text comes from a lengthy brochure that is not aimed at the end consumer. Both texts are very similar in terms of the text-picture-relationship and the length of the text, and both texts express stereotypes about Finland.

As regards the Mercedes-Benz advertising text, it must first of all be seen as part of a total advertising campaign which extols the benefits of the new Mercedes-Benz "touring guarantee". The background to this campaign is the fear of a breakdown known to every motorist; as Mercedes-Benz puts it in an advertisement that appeared in *Der Spiegel* at the end of 1989 (No. 50/1989):

No motorist welcomes this: a breakdown somewhere *abroad* - perhaps *at night*... Even with a Mercedes such situations cannot be entirely ruled out. But should it happen - Mercedes drivers can be sure of help...

The key words are here: "somewhere *abroad*" and "perhaps at *night*" and (the slogan of the text) "We will keep you moving - even across *borders*". Apart from this advertisement there are other advertisements about the Mercedes-Benz

[13] Stereotypes can be created and/or reinforced by the intercultural reception of (written) texts. Carroll (p. 7) gives the following explanation for the existence of *cultural texts*: "Linguistic difficulties aside, I am faced with a cultural text when I get a 'strange' feeling upon being confronted with an opacity that I cannot dissipate without falling back on the explanation 'the Xs are...' which as we have seen, is anything but an explanation." In my opinion *cultural texts* include in particular those text types which do not exist in all cultures, eg. *marriage wishes* in German (cf. James 1980:117) *telephone messages* and *shopping lists* in German (Glück 1988:38) as well as text types for which there are pronounced linguistic and cultural conventions (eg. death announcements, job applications, curricula vitae etc.).

touring guarantee which also refer to breakdown assistance abroad, but which I shall not go into further here. Rather I would like to discuss an advertisement (*Der Spiegel* No. 12/1990), in which Finland (or stereotypes about Finland) is used as a demonstration of the benefits of the touring guarantee. In that advertisement Finland is presented as the embodiment of *foreign*, *winter*, and *border* and (at least in the case of a breakdown) of *frightening*. The initial (threatening) situation is eased, however, and the fear of the Mercedes driver is removed by the touring guarantee; for "*Even* Leppävirta is only one hour away from Stuttgart".[14]

The Mercedes-Benz advertisement functions in the German market because of the stereotyped impression of Finland. Stereotypes in this advertisement are to be found in the picture as well as in the text and in the combined effect of the two.

The large landscape *photograph* conveys a stereotype impression of Finland, where the elements are restricted to *snow*, *lakes*, *forest* and the *horizon*, against which only the stationary Mercedes stands out, and moreover it appears to have come to a halt on a *snowed-up* road. There is a (faint) hint of dusk and the headlight[15] on the Mercedes also give the impression that it is fairly *dark*, and dusk can be seen as a symbol of the Finnish *winter gloom*. Through the choice of elements moreover the picture gives the impression of *icy cold*. Since other than the red colour of the Mercedes and the red tone of dusk the only colours are blue and white, the Finnish *national colours* are brought into play, which ought to be familiar to the reader of the advertisement from the Finnish flag (and hint at Finnish patriotism).

All in all the picture presents on the one hand an impression of a magical but almost unreal and bewitched fairytale world, and on the other hand fear is

---

[14] The "even" in the title of this advertisement could - with reference to the already quoted Mercedes advertising for the "touring guarantee" be replaced by "even if" - in any case it fulfils the same function as "even if". The stereotype manifested here is very similar in character to "He is an American, but he behaves himself very well."

[15] Unlike Finland, in Germany lights do not have to be on when driving on the open road, only at night, in rain and in bad visibility. Thus the car's headlight is for the German reader a sign of darkness or dusk.

Auch Leppävirta ist nur eine Stunde von Stuttgart entfernt.

37

Figure 1. The Mercedes-Benz advertisement about the new touring guarantee (*Der Spiegel* 12, 1990)

conveyed by the expanse and simultaneous emptiness combined with cold and darkness.

The *text* of the advertisement accompanies and completes the stereotype impressions created by the picture and organizes them into certain patterns. The locations Leppävirta and Jäpillä[16] and other proper names - *Marti Huotari*[17], *Seppo Lapp*[18] and *Matti Soini Oy* - alert the reader to the fact that the scene is Finland through the many vowels, the A-umlauts, the typical diphthongs, the double consonants, the surname Lapp and the forename Matti (known as a Finnish forename because of the ski jumper Matti Nykänen).

As early as the first sentence we are told that this is Middle Finland; the plot, then, does not take place in Helsinki (which as a metropole would not be exotic enough) and not in Lapland either (which would be too exotic) but in Middle Finland, presumably a place somewhere between civilization and wilderness. And in a place like that a motorist needs help! For the ensuing arguments it can now be taken as read that the average motorist is intimated by this prospect; for only the Mercedes driver with the new "touring guarantee" need have no fear, since even in this extreme situation he can call for help: "Even Leppävirta is only an hour away from Stuttgart".

The stage is then complimented by further stereotype impressions of Finland and her inhabitants: naturally there is a *wooden house* at the entrance to Leppävirta which naturally has *two floors*; the *landlord* of the *Pikabaari* (ie. the snack bar[19]) is naturally very *friendly*: the Mercedes driver is "very welcome to

---

[16] The places are authentic; Jäppilä however is spelt incorrectly (with double 'l' and without double 'p'). Leppävirta is mentioned in travel guides on account of its church, which dates from the last century. And even though Leppävirta is only a little village 250 km north of Helsinki, it is relatively well known to German visitors to Finland, for the Finnish national instrument 'kantele' is built there.

[17] The forename Marti should be written with double 't'.

[18] The surname Lapp is rather unlikely and is more probably a concession to German readers.

[19] The translation of 'Pikabaari' as 'Wirtshaus' ('snack bar') seems to me to be just as inappropriate as having a 'Wirt' ('landlord') in a snack bar. At any rate, the word 'Wirt' has a positive connotation in German, which is important

make a telephone call". It is also worth noting that the landlord's name somehow sounds endearing when pronounced the typical German way [hu:otári].

The same goes for the proper name Soini [zo:íni] and for Matti, Seppo and Lapp, which sound pathetic in German ears. Apart from the landlord there is only one other Finnish actor in the short scene, a *reliable* and *efficient* garage owner[20] who ignores both wind and weather to get Mercedes drivers out of trouble.

Although the Mercedes advert only makes positive comments on the Finns and even if the picture conveyed of Finland is not necessarily disparaging, overgeneralizations and simplifications are made which do not necessarily correspond to the Finns' picture of themselves, but which are very functional in connection with the advertisement: the backdrop of a winter landscape in Middle Finland[21] suits the purposes of the advertisement very well, and the tension is pierced by the friendly and reliable Finnish people, who are also portrayed as somewhat exotic if not pathetic.

Such stereotypes about Finland (used or created in the Mercedes advertisement)[22] can be extremely annoying to the Finns, which is shown, for example, by an extract from an information brochure "Innovatives Finnland"

---

for the advertisement.

[20] That a 'Werkstattleiter' ('garage *owner*') attends to the stricken Mercedes seems to me very unlikely - when thinking of the social structures in Finnish Mercedes dealerships. But garage *owner* again has a commendatory connotation and is more appropriate here than just 'mechanic' or 'breakdown truck'.

[21] On the other hand a summer landscape in Middle Finland would not be suited to the intention of this advertisement.

[22] I do not want to explore any further here whether advertisements (in this case the German Mercedes advertisement) *use* stereotypes or *create* them. Furthermore I will not explore whether the stereotypes in the text of the Finnish Foreign Trade Association are *autostereotypes* or *heterostereotypes*. Both questions shall remain unanswered here as the necessary background information is not available and the intention here is only to show *how stereotypes* about one's own or another country *can be functionalized* for one's own purposes.

published by the Finnish Foreign Trade Association[23], to which I will refer in the following. I refer to the first two inside pages of the brochure, which contains one large picture and a text which introduces the whole brochure.

The *photograph* shown is very similar to the one in the Mercedes advertisement, although apparently it depicts not Middle Finland but North Finland or Lapland (at least that is suggested by the hills in the background). On the level of the photograph therefore the assumed *heterostereotypes* of the Germans are

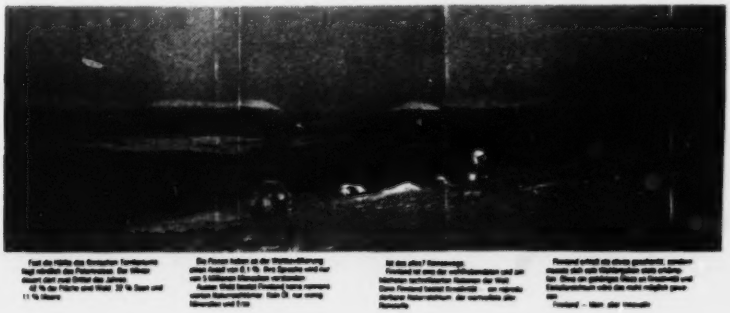

Figure 2. The information brochure "Innovatives Finnland" by the Finnish Foreign Trade Association.

[23] The importance of the perception of Finland abroad to Finnish industry and commerce is underlined by the fact that in 1987 the Finnish ministry of trade and industry put together a working group to research people's concept of Finland and to strengthen it in the principal export markets. In a report the working group begins from the following ideal of Finland:
"- a nordic democracy succesfully carrying out a policy of neutrality
- a modern welfare state with a well developed high-tech economy
- a country with a creative and distinctive culture
- a country with unspoilt nature" (von Hertzen 1989:160).
That this ideal of Finland still needs to be cultivated abroad is shown for example by the result of the *TIME Survey on Trade and the Future of Europe*, in which amongst other things attitudes to countries' products are examined. Here are some results which clearly show how different the impressions of Finland are in Finland and abroad: *modern, up-to-date*: Finland 88%, abroad 51%; *technologically advanced*: Finland 76%, abroad 25% *innovative:* Finland 50%, abroad 21%.

picked up, and are then gone into further on the text level. In this connection the key words in the *text* are: *north of the Arctic Circle, winter lasts for two thirds of the year, forest, lakes, moor, language, no particular natural resources.* Admittedly these are facts; the mere listing of these facts whilst omitting other facts is the (empirical) basis for the familiar stereotypes about Finland and the Finns. Of course in the text in question the listing of the facts which lead to the stereotype impressions is followed by the all-important prodding: the listing of facts only served to make the reader aware of the underlying bias, in order now to tell him the "whole truth" about Finland. This other side of Finland is brought out in the second half of the text with key words such as *one of the wealthiest and most technical advanced countries in the world, creativity* and *resourcefulness* and finally *small, but innovative.*

Although this argumentation makes use of *autostereotypes*, the extract seems to me nonetheless to be a good example of how *heterostereotypes* in intercultural communication can be breached by written text.

Conclusion

Beginning with methodological problems of cross-cultural research, general aspects of culture analysis were discussed, with reference to Carroll. In the process it appeared that miscommunication is subject to various norms and value systems that are not made explicit in communication, but which underlie linguistic behaviour although they are not codified in grammar. In this connection *contextualizations cues* play an important role; a knowledge of and compliance with which are an important precondition for the success of communication. In intercultural communication, however, the existence of common *contextualizations cues* cannot be assumed; rather the parties involved seem to be governed by the *contextualization cues* of their own culture, thereby producing the empirical basis for *stereotypes* about the other party. Finally a sort of vicious circle can occur in intercultural communication which can only be breached on the metacommunicative level.

The problem of *ethnocentricity* in intercultural communication was analyzed in more detail, and ways and methods of avoiding an ethnocentric vision in research were presented. The concept of the stereotype was problematized not

only for the research process, but described in its functionality for the process of intercultural communication itself. With a view to written communication a broadening of the term was attempted. Furthermore, it was demonstrated with an example from German-Finnish business communication how stereotypes function and how - if they are explicitly taken up - can potentially be breached. The brief analysis of the two sample texts showed that stereotypes in written texts are not realized via explicit linguistic textual means, but that they can only be revealed by a *culture-semiotic* approach.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Auer, Peter 1986. Kontextualisierung, in Dieter Wunderlich (ed.), *Studium Linguistik* 19, Königstein: Hain.

Beneke, Jürgen & Detlev Nothnagel 1988. Reibungsfelder im Aussenwirtschaftsverkehr: Bericht über ein Projekt der Forschungsstelle für interkulturelle Kommunikation, in The Bungarten (ed.), *Sprache und Information in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Hamburg: Attikon.*

Bussmann, Hadumod 1983. Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft. Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag.

Carroll, Raymonde 1988. *Cultural misunderstandings: the French and American experience.* Trans. Carol Volk. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Cook-Gumperz, Jenny & John Gumperz 1976. Context in children's speech, in Jenny Cook-Gumperz & John Gumperz (eds.), *Papers on language and context,* Berkeley: Language Behavior Research Laboratory.

van Dijk, Teun A. 1983. Cognitive and conversational strategies in the expression of ethnic prejudice, *Text* 3(4). Berlin: Mouton Publishers.

Glück, Helmut 1988. Schreiben in der Fremdsprache Deutsch: eine Einführung, in Maria Liber & Jürgen Possett (eds.), *Texte schreiben im Germanistik-Studium,* München: iudicium.

Gries, Sabine and Dieter Voigt 1989. Ethnozentrismus, in Günter Endruweit und Gisela Trommsdorff (eds.), *Wörterbuch der Soziologie 1,* 3 Vols, Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag.

von Hertzen, Pirjo 1989. Kansainvälistyykö myös Suomen viestintä? in Pertti Leppänen et al. (eds.), *Yhteisö viestii,* Helsinki: Werner Söderström Oy.

Holenstein, Elmar 1985. *Menschliches Selbstverständnis, Ichbewusstsein - intersubjektive Verantwortung - interkulturelle Verständigung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

James, Carl 1980. *Contrastive Analysis*. Essex: Longman.

König, René 1972. Interkultureller Vergleich, in Wilhelm Bernsdorf (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Soziologie* 2, 3 Vols, Stuttgart: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.

Kotthoff, Helga 1989. *Pro und Kontra in der Fremdsprache, Pragmatische Defizite in interkulturellen Argumentationen*. Sprachwelten. Vol. 3. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.

Kranz, Marianne 1987. *Bibliography on Research on Cultural Prejudice and Stereotypes*. Duisburg: L.A.U.D.

Podder-Theising, Ina 1984. *Hindus heute, Materialien zu einer Sozialpsychologie der städtischen Mittelklasse*. Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 19. Vol. 10. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.

Stolt, Birgit 1988. Kulturbarrieren als Übersetzungsproblem: einige ethnomethodologische Gesichtspunkte, in Gunnar Magnusson & Staffan Wahlén (eds.), *Teaching translation*, Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet.

Suojanen, Päivikki 1982. *Kulttuurin tutkimuksen empiiriset menetelmät: runkoaineisto*. Tampere: University of Tampere.

Suojanen, Päivikki & Lassi Saressalo 1982. *Kulttuurin kenttätutkimus*. Tampere: University of Tampere.

Tannen, Deborah 1985. Cross-Cultural Communication, in Teun A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse Analysis in Society*, Vol. 4 of Handbook of Discourse Analysis, Orlando: Academic Press.

Trommsdorf, Gisela (ed.) 1989a. *Sozialisation im Kulturvergleich: Der Mensch als soziales und personales Wesen*. Vol. 10. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag.

Trommsdorf, Gisela 1989b. Vergleich, interkultureller, intersozietärer, in Günter Endruweit and Gisela Trommsdorff (eds.), *Wörterbuch der Soziologie* 3, 3 Vols, Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag.

ANALYZING SERVICE ENCOUNTERS CROSS-CULTURALLY: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Paula Kalaja
University of Jyväskylä

Introduction

Service encounters have been investigated by market researchers as well as by linguists. With a few exceptions, the research on service encounters by market researchers has been *theory-driven*. In other words, market researchers have been constructing models of service production and/or consumption. In contrast, the research on service encounters by linguists has been *data-driven*. In other words, linguists have based their analyses for the most part on actual service encounters, tape-recorded, or observed and written down word for word. However, depending on their definitions of service encounters, linguists have been analyzing service encounters (cross-culturally) using two very different approaches, and so they have been asking and seeking answers to very different questions. The purpose of this paper is to review these two approaches, namely, the *Top-Down Approach* and the *Bottom-Up Approach*[1], their data and methods.

Definitions of service encounters by linguists

Some linguists, more specifically those within the Top-Down Approach (eg. Merritt 1976b, Tsuda 1984, Ventola 1987), have looked upon service encounters as business transaction texts. To quote Merritt, who was the first linguist to suggest service encounters as a unit of linguistic analysis,

> A service encounter is an instance of face-to-face interaction between a server who is 'officially posted' in some service area, that interaction being oriented to the satisfaction of the customer's presumed desire for some service and the server's obligation to provide that service (Merritt 1977:198).

[1] These terms come from Aston 1988b and George 1988.

Other linguists, more specifically those within the Bottom-Up Approach (eg. the PIXIs [a group of British and Italian linguists] or Aston 1988c, Kalaja 1989), agree with those within the Top-Down Approach in that service encounters are basically business transactions. To quote Aston, (public) service encounters are encounters

> which appear to be accountable for in terms of direct ... and apparently shared reference to a schema which associates situational features of goals, roles, topic and setting to the discourse patterns of business transactions. These situational features are ... institutionalized in the roles of the customer seeking service and the assistant who aims to provide it in a setting socially set aside for the purpose ... (Aston 1988b:42.)

However, it is only more recently within the Bottom-Up Approach that linguists have come to realize that service encounters are not only settings for negotiating business transactions; they are also settings for negotiating friendly relationships. And so the schema

> provides initial presuppositions and expectations, but ... its instantiation may be modified and renegotiated on a bottom-up basis. This negotiatory process takes place over time, and is not necessarily a consequence of an *a priory* goal, as participants find that needs and opportunities emerge for other activities than simply requesting and providing a particular service. (Aston 1988b:42.)

Over the years, linguists have come to realize some other important points about service encounters, too. These are all summarized in Table 1.

As a list, these realizations seem self-evident. Yet, it has taken linguists some time to realize some of these. For linguists, the first part of Point 1 (that is, service encounters are business transactions) has been evident from the beginning, as is clear from the definitions quoted above. This is also true of Point 2 (that is, service encounters are negotiation processes with successful or unsuccessful outcomes)[2]. The second part of Point 1 (that is, service encounters are settings for negotiating friendly relationships between a customer and a service provider) has been realized only more recently by linguists within the Bottom-Up Approach. This is also true of Points 3 (that is, service encounters are subjective experiences), 4 (that is, judgments on the success or failure of

[2] It took market researchers some time to realize Point 2.

Realizations about SEs	Top-Down Approach (eg. Merritt 1976b, Tsuda 1984*, Ventola 1987)	Bottom-Up Approach The PIXIs Aston 1988c*	Kalaja 1989*
1 SEs are settings for negotiation a) of business transactions and	Yes	Yes	Yes
b) of relationships		Yes	Yes
2 SEs are processes and outcomes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3 SEs are subjective experiences		Yes	Yes
4 Judgments on the success or failure of SEs are made both by Cs and SPs		Yes	Yes[1,2]
5 These judgments are made along two dimensions: transactionally and interactionally		Yes	Yes

Note: *Cross-cultural study
[1]Focus was only on SEs perceived as unsuccessful
[2]Focus was only on judgments made by Cs

Table 1. Realizations about service encounters by linguists (SE stands for service encounter, C for customer, and SP for service provider).

service encounters are made by customers as well as by service providers), and 5 (that is, these judgments are made along two dimensions, namely, transactionally or interactionally).

Research methods and data used by linguists

Within the Top-Down Approach, linguists made *direct observations*: they tape-recorded or observed service encounters in various kinds of stores. As they looked upon service encounters as business transaction texts, their focus was on transactional speech in service encounters (Point 1a in Table 1). More specifically, they sought to describe the overall structure of this kind of texts either in terms of speech acts (Merritt 1976a, 1976b) or some other more abstract units (Tsuda 1984, Ventola 1987).

Also within the Bottom-Up Approach, direct observations were made by the PIXIs (Aston 1988c): they tape-recorded service encounters in book stores in Britain and in Italy. Their focus was not only on transactional speech in service encounters; their focus was also on interactional speech (Points 1a and b and 2 in Table 1). As regards interactional speech, Aston (1988a) made important distinctions between solidary and supportive affect, and also between their strong (personal) and weak (impersonal) forms. *Solidary affect* means the establishment of friendly relationships in service encounters. *Supportive affect*, in contrast, means the maintenance or restoration of friendly relationship after a breakdown in the service delivery system - or to put it linguistically, after a face-threatening act[3].

Unlike other linguists, Kalaja (1989) made *indirect observations*. In other words, she did not tape-record or observe actual service encounters. Instead, her data consisted of self-reports of service encounters experienced as problematic by customers; more specifically, her data consisted of letters of complaint to an airline. Her main focus was on service encounters as subjective experiences (Points 3 through 5 in Table 1) and so she came to analyze service encounters from the perspective of insiders, though one-sidedly, from the perspective of customers only. In other words, she analyzed service encounters perceived by

[3] This term is from Brown and Levinson 1987.

passengers as unsuccessful transactionally and/or interactionally. Of the PIXIs, Vincent Marrelli (1988) had attempted this, too, but, as was pointed out earlier, their data consisted of tape-recordings (of service encounters in book stores).

A comparison of Kalaja's data with an imaginary transcript of the same event clearly shows the strengths and limitations of these two kinds of data. The following is a sample letter from Kalaja's data. It is a letter written by an Englishman and received by the airline in May 1987:

Dear Mr LAST NAME,

Whilst eating my flight luncheon I was surprised to find a stow-away passenger in the form of a very lively 2" worm. Had it not been so lively, I would have mistaken it for a strip of reindeer meat and this letter would not have been necessary.

However, the offending creature (I hope there was only one!) was spotted. This, in itself, was quite a funny incident to recall but the response from the cabin crew member was not.

In order not to offend fellow passengers, including a large party of school children, I sat with the meal hardly eaten until I considered it reasonable to draw the matter to the attention of the hostess.

On doing so the only response was 'Sorry Sir, it must have come out of the salad!' upon which my meal was taken away and not replaced.

In my opinion this was an explanation of from where the worm came out and not really a sympathetic apology.

Whilst I am sure that you will see the funny side of this incident, I do hope that you appreciate that after a very busy week of business this was not the way to round off a trip. I trust you find my comments of value.

Yours sincerely,

5/87/8

From the letter we learn that the Englishman had made a complaint to the flight attendant about a meal of inferior quality. In other words, the two were engaged in a negotiation of repair. Had we been aboard the same plane, we could have tape-recorded this encounter and transcribed it, and we could certainly have learnt this also from the (imaginary) transcript. From the letter we can further infer that the negotiation failed transactionally: the meal was

taken away but it was not replaced. We could possibly have inferred this from the transcript, too. From the transcript it would probably have appeared that the negotiation was, however, successful interactionally: the flight attendant made an attempt at restoring a friendly relationship with the passenger by making an apology, *Sorry Sir, it must have come out of the salad*. But from the letter it certainly appears that the negotiation failed not only transactionally; it failed also interactionally. It seems that the kind of data used by Kalaja is better suited for the analysis of service encounters as subjective experiences (Points 3 through 5 in Table 1), whereas transcripts are better suited for that of actual patterns of discourse (Points 1 and 2 in Table 1).

These developments in methodologies are summarized in Table 2.

	Top-Down Approach	Bottom-Up Approach	
	(eg. Merritt 1976b, Tsuda 1984, Ventola 1987)	The PIXIs Aston 1988c	Kalaja 1989
Method	Direct observations	Direct observations	Indirect observations
Data	Recordings: Stores	Recordings: Book-stores	Letters of complaint to an airline
Focus of analysis	Transactional speech: Overall structure	Transactional and interactional speech	Transactional and interactional speech
Perspective of	Outsiders	Outsiders	Insiders: Customers

Table 2. Data and methods used by linguists.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we have traced changes not only in the notions of service encounters held by linguists but also in the methodologies used and consequent shifts in focus of the analyses made. Ideally, it would be nice to have both direct and indirect observations from one and the same service setting. Further, an analysis of letters of complaint could be complemented with an analysis of thank you notes to one and the same service company to see what it was that made negotiations in service encounters exceptionally successful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aston, G. 1988a. Interactional speech in service encounters, in G. Aston (ed.), *Negotiating service: studies in the discourse of bookshop encounters*, Bologna: Editrice.

Aston, G. 1988b. Introduction, in G. Aston (ed.), *Negotiating service: studies in the discourse of bookshop encounters*, Bologna: Editrice.

Brown, P. and S. C. Levinson 1987. *Politeness: some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

George, S. E. 1988. Postscript: discourse descriptions and pedagogic proposals, in G. Aston (ed.), *Negotiating service: studies in the discourse of bookshop encounters*, Bologna: Editrice.

Kalaja, P. 1989. *Service encounters: towards successful negotiations from the perspective of customers*. Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University.

Merritt, M. 1976a. On questions following questions in service encounters, *Language in Society* 5, 315-357.

Merritt, M. 1976b. Resources for saying in service encounters. Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania.

Merritt, M. 1977. The playback: an instance of variation in discourse, in R. W. Fasold and R. W. Shuy (eds.), *Studies in language variation: semantics, syntax, phonology, pragmatics, social situations, ethnographic approaches*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Tsuda, A. 1984. *Sales talk in Japan and the United States: an ethnographic analysis of contrastive speech events*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Vincent Marrelli, J. M. 1988. Notes on power and solidarity in bookshops, in G. Aston (ed.), *Negotiating service: studies in the discourse of bookshop encounters*, Bologna: Editrice.

THE PROBLEM OF NORM IN THE STUDY OF CROSS-CULTURAL DISCOURSE

Elise Kärkkäinen
University of Oulu

Introduction

In my paper I report some of the experiences we have had with the data, analysis and results in the *Contrastive Discourse Analysis Project* (1985-1988) carried out in the Department of English in Oulu under Professor Heikki Nyyssönen. The project mainly involved two researchers, myself and Pirkko Raudaskoski. As a direct continuation of our project there is at the moment a new one, *Lexis in Discourse*, under way in our Department.

Our purpose was to describe the conversational skills of advanced Finnish speakers of English, and especially to find out the level of their *social competence*, ie. their ability to use certain *discourse strategies* and/or *politeness strategies*.

In the following I will first briefly present our way of collecting data as well as our framework for analyzing it. Secondly, I will call attention to the issue of norm in cross-cultural studies such as ours. All through the project one of the trickiest questions was to what extent the differences in the language of advanced Finnish speakers of English were due to deficiencies in their linguistic skills, and to what degree they could be seen to arise from different assumptions on the nature of conversational interaction in the two cultures, Finnish and English. In other words, were the students at a given (failure) point acting in accordance with an interlanguage norm, so that they resorted to the Finnish language system (which in turn is conditioned by the Finnish cultural system) in the formulation of a message in English, or were they obeying some conversational norm prevalent in the Finnish rather than the target language culture? Even though it is frequently possible only to make guesses, this question is an important one in the actual explanation of features of the students' talk. In addition, what are the native speaker norms that hold in

conversational interaction? It is possible to distinguish two levels of such norms, framing and symbolizing, and look at the students' performance at these two levels.

But first, let us look at the way we collected our data and how we set about to analyze it.

Collection and transcription of data (field methods)

Originally, we took for a model the project conducted in Bochum University in West Germany by Willis Edmondson and his associates (Juliane House, Gabriele Kasper and Brigitte Stemmer) in 1976-1981, concerning communicative competence as a learning objective in foreign language teaching. Our empirical design follows their approach in broad outline: our corpus consists of simulated task-oriented conversations between a Finnish advanced university student of English (X = NNS) and a native speaker of English (Y = NS). These conversations always involve a problem that has to be solved in the course of the interaction, that is, (mainly) the student's social competence was put to the test in some way. The collection of material was based on four *interactional bases*:

Base 1: X wants Y do A, where A is a future act and is not in Y's interest (cf. inviting the hearer, reminding the hearer of something)

Base 2: X does A, where A is mainly in the interest of Y (cf. offering to do s-g)

Base 3: Y did/does/will do A, A inconvenient for/not acceptable to X (cf. complaining, criticizing the hearer)

Base 4: X did/does/will do A, A inconvenient for/not acceptable to Y (cf. admitting one's guilt and responsibility)

These four types were then varied according to the status or power (+P/-P) and the social distance (+D/-D) between participants: we thus have (1) asymmetrical +P+D situations, where NS has the higher relative status of the two and the speakers do not know each other (at least not very well), (2) symmetrical -P+D situations, where the speakers are equal in terms of power but do not know each other, and (3) symmetrical -P-D situations, where they are equal and also good friends. This gave us 12 situations, with four versions recorded of each

situation. Thus, we had a total of 48 conversations, which amounted to approximately 7 hours and some 75 000 words. Additionally, a number of Finnish-Finnish and English-English recordings were made for comparison.

In the actual recording situation the participants were left on their own, so that the analysts were not listening to the interaction or observing it in any way. This had the desired effect: the participants on the whole regarded these conversations as natural and none of them wanted their contribution to be discounted (this was expressed by them in a questionnaire asking, among others, what their view was on the naturalness of the language used by both parties). We of course admit that video recordings would have given us much more information on such interactions, but at the time we felt that their naturalness was more important and we settled for audiotaped ones.

Our transcription conventions represent mainly the words spoken, plus some other relevant features such as pauses, overlapping speech, inaudible speech, contrastive emphasis, etc.:

n = pause
[ ] = overlapping speech
(inaudible) = inaudible speech
(( )) = hardly audible speech
underlining = stressed words (contrastive stress or emphasis)

The same type of simulations were later used as data in two other projects in our department: the project on the English used by engineers in three industrial companies (Kemira, Nokia, Veitsiluoto), and the project on the need of Finnish graduate engineers for further education in English (financed by the Finnish Engineering Society).

Analytical framework

Our analytical framework was formed and revised over a long period of time, as it became clear to us that certain features could not be studied in isolation. We were thus forced to gradually expand our original plan, which was to study only the FTA, or face-threatening act, environments, ie. those parts of each discourse that contained the student's invitation, complaint, etc., plus the immediate environment, especially that preceding the core FTA. Thus, we did

not originally plan to study what could be called the overall tones of the conversations, that is, what the orientation of the speakers was towards each other in those situations. However, we were forced to take this aspect into account (which of course made the analysis even more difficult!), and to such an extent that it almost became the most important level of analysis in the end.

In the analysis of our cross-cultural encounters we combined elements of two earlier approaches to conversational strategy, namely the model of Edmondson and House on spoken discourse (1981) and the framework of Brown and Levinson on universal politeness strategies (1978) (see Kärkkäinen and Raudaskoski 1989 for more details on our analysis and for the results we obtained). We identified strategic elements at three different structural levels: (1) the level of the *whole encounter*, (2) the sequence or *conversational phase* during which the main imposition (eg. complaint, request, invitation) is made, consisting of *conversational moves*, and (3) the level of *individual turns*.

Native vs. non-native conversational norms

If the native speakers constitute the norm in the study of cross-cultural discourse and we compare the performance of Finnish students to the way in which native speakers of English behave in similar situations (and this is what we did), we can perhaps distinguish two main types of native-speaker norms relevant for discourse (Nyyssönen 1990, following Loveday 1982): *framing and symbolizing norms*. In what follows, I will examine the manifestations of framing norms at primarily the first two of our original analytical levels, ie. the level of the whole encounter and that of the conversational phases and moves, and relate the notion of symbolizing to the level of individual turns. It needs to be pointed out, though, that it is possible to distinguish these two types of culture-bound norms or discourse strategies only at a theoretical level, because in practice they work in unison and modify each other. Also, these strategies are context-dependent, so that how and to what degree they are obeyed depends on who you are talking to, what is being talked about, what the situation is, etc.

On the whole our students were considered to be very proficient and fluent by three outside NS informants. On closer analysis, however, there were points in the conversations where their performance differed from that of native speakers:

the student made a social blunder of some kind, causing momentary discomfort to the hearer. According to Jenny Thomas, these trouble spots in communication can be called *pragmatic failures* (Thomas 1983:91). There were of course differences among our students, so that in Group A, ie. in the best group according to structural competence, there were hardly any instances of failures of this kind, while in Group B these were much more common, and in Group C both pragmatic failures and structural problems were much more in evidence. On the other hand, native speakers of English in our corpus represented not only one set of norms but several, obviously differing sets, because they came from countries and cultures as far apart as Great Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Below, I will present some of the most frequent types of pragmatic failures that recurred in the language used by Finnish learners of English, and pose the following question: do the differences observed reflect an underlying set of Finnish conversational norms that differ from the norms prevailing in the target culture, in which case we should talk about the *Finnish norm* vs. the *NS norm*, or are the differences more likely to be due to the deficient linguistic competence of the Finnish learners of English, so that they rely on the Finnish language system rather than that of the target language, in which case we are dealing with an *interlanguage norm* (or dilemma) vs. a *NS norm*? It is almost impossible to answer this question with any certainty, but I will suggest some possible answers that were arrived at in the course of the project.

Framing norms

Framing norms refer to culture-dependent discourse-structuring principles on the appropriateness of topic, the proper introduction of topic, and the suitability of speech acts, functions or attitudes. They also have to do with the quantity of speech, and how speech is to be distributed, chunked, sequenced, etc. (Nyyssönen 1990:16).

A violation of the relevant framing norm results in a *sociopragmatic failure* (as one type of pragmatic failure). According to Thomas (1983:99), sociopragmatic failure originates in "cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour". In second-language teaching, these norms

should be talked about rather than taught - it is indeed debatable whether they can be taught in any systematic way.

A. Let us first look at the *level of the whole encounter*, at which notions such as the overall tone of the conversation and the orientation of speaker and hearer towards each other (what is their interpretation of the situation, how well they understand each other, etc.) were at the centre of attention. The overall NS norm here could be expressed roughly as 'Show involvement and positive affect'. The degree of involvement and interest shown by speakers towards each other in the course of the conversations may have, among others, the following linguistic manifestations (cf. also Kärkkäinen and Raudaskoski 1988 and Räinä 1990):

(a) Native speakers of English generally express and even exaggerate the degree of empathy, friendliness and interest that they show towards their interlocutors, ie. they engage in expressions of *positive* or *solidarity politeness* in order to create and maintain some degree of convergence and common ground. In other words, they use language that is normally used between intimates to create an overall tone of co-operativeness and hearer-supportiveness. Such behaviour is really the NS norm in everyday conversations such as our simulated ones; speakers tend to use expressions that stress in-group membership, convey that the hearer is admirable and interesting, agree with the other if possible, etc. (Brown and Levinson 1978). Even though this is a universal principle, it is not necessarily valued in the same way in different cultures. On the basis of our data we claim that it tends to be more highly valued in the English than in the Finnish cultural context: in the talk of our Finnish speakers these expressions were often noticeably absent or their tone was relatively unemphatic. This was the case even in symmetrical -P-D situations (between two "good friends"), which was commonly interpreted by our NS informants as a general lack of reassurance and lack of interest towards the other person. It is possible to hypothesize, and this seems to be a point widely accepted by Finns themselves, that in the Finnish cultural context this particular kind of overt marking of involvement is not exceedingly common. We tend to avoid especially personal expressions of camaraderie, such as taking explicit notice of or showing interest in the hearer's person, let alone exaggerating or intensifying our interest in him/her. That is, the Finnish norm and the native speaker norm differ at this point. Another explanation, even though perhaps a less likely one, is that the Finnish learners

do not know the possible idiomatic ways in English of showing solidarity or rapport with the addressee, and, consequently, do not show it. In this case we would be dealing with an interlanguage dilemma rather than a Finnish norm. And, lastly, this is perhaps a point where the fact that we used simulations rather than authentic data may play a role; the students do not feel that this is a sufficiently "real" situation to show genuine concern for their interlocutors and for the matter at hand, and it is quite possible that they feel emotionally inhibited to display such behaviour.

(b) Involvement can be manifested in the type and amount of *backchannel behaviour*, too. Finnish students generally gave a great deal of backchannel feedback. However, there were some problems involved. The backchannel that they gave was often of a minimal kind, unemphatic and also not very emphathetic in content (*yeah, mhm, that's right*). In this way the students appeared to avoid taking speaking turns. When more emphatic feedback would have been called for, the students were seldom able to produce it. Related with this, they had problems with synchrony: they were often not able to pick up the ball and acknowledge something that the other person had said. Compare the following examples where a more emphatic substitute for the original item is given in italics (Räinä 1990:18):

Example 1:

Y: We - at <u>that</u> time they [teachers in Scotland] were still using the <u>belt</u>.
X: Yeah, yeah. /NS: *The belt!? You can't be serious.*
Y: They've stopped it now, but - I didn't - I wasn't able to use it but...
X: Yeah. /NS: *Well, I can't blame you.*

Y: So how do you like the weather? It's pretty nice for San Francisco, isn't it?
X: Yeeah. Nothing to complain about. /NS: *Oh yes, it's lovely/absolutely great!* (or was X trying to find the English equivalent for the Finnish 'eipä hassumpi/ei voi valittaa'?)

Y: I've got a lot of friends around here. I can introduce you to them.
X: Yeah. /NS: *Could you? That'd be very nice/I'd like that very much.*

It appears to be a NS norm to display emphatic reactions, eg. use 'supremes' and informal idiomatic expressions when giving feedback (Räinä 1990: 19). By contrast, it appears to be a Finnish norm that extravagance in speech is to be avoided, and language is used in a serious manner, saying only what is literally

meant. This would explain the unemphatic and minimal feedback prevalent in the speech of our students. However, another explanation may again be the fact that "feedback behaviour", as well as many other conversational routines and strategies, have not yet been systematically introduced into teaching syllabuses even at the university level, while acquiring (without being taught) the idiomaticity in this area is perhaps only possible during a lengthy stay in the cultural environment of the target language (only students in Group A fulfilled this criterion).

(c) Shared orientation can also be expressed by *distribution of talk* and *topic control*. A well-known NS norm is of course that silences should be filled with talk, while an equally well-known stereotypical Finnish norm is that silence is perfectly acceptable. The NSs in our corpus were on the whole much more active as participants, so that they almost always spoke more than the students (in 38 out of 48 conversations) and ended up controlling the talk and introducing new topics. They therefore seemed more involved in the actual situation, and more willing to take on the maintenance of the conversation. The above perhaps primarily reflects the Finnish norm, but it would seem possible that it also reflects an interlanguage dilemma in that a native speaker "automatically" has the upper hand, by virtue of being a native speaker, in a cross-cultural encounter, especially if the second language speaker is not very proficient in terms of grammar or vocabulary (or idiomaticity). Thus, he/she very quickly gives up the floor and is only content to follow the direction that the conversation assumes, without actively influencing it him/herself.

(d) Solidarity is further manifestated in the number and type of *questions* asked. On the whole, Finns asked few questions (or produced utterances that clearly expected an answer): in 12 conversations that we studied very carefully the numbers were 59 for students and 237 for native speakers. Besides, the grammatical form of the students' questions was very traditional (do/have, inversion etc.). This can be a reflection of the Finnish language system, where questions are rarely formed by a direct word order and rising intonation or by a direct word order and a tag ("You must be one of the new Finnish girls, yes"?). On the other hand, however, the function of the questions was also different: very often they were used only to ask for information, while NSs used the type that means "Am I right in supposing that...?", "Don't you agree?", "Why don't we...?", thus working for the success of the conversation (Räinä

1990:13-14). Our informants pointed out that making a suggestion in the form of a question is usually also more polite.

B. If we then turn to the *level of conversational phase*, a NS framing norm seems to be that you should engage, together with your interlocutor, in *creating an interactional sequence*, a dialogue, rather than a non-interactional monologue. The latter pattern was often favoured by our students. The native-speaker pattern results in a completely different way of introducing an issue or an imposition in conversation, not a lecture but a joint creation by two speakers. Compare the following offer of help made by a very proficient Finnish student:

Example 2:

Preparatory move(s)
X: Hello. I'm sorry to disturb you but I happened to overhear your conversation with your friend a moment ago,
FTA
and I thought I might help you
Supportive move(s)
because I know some Swedish, and I thought I could help you - you with the translation.

with a NS-NS version of the same situation:

X: Hi. nn What are you up to there?
Y: (explains)
X: Are you having difficulties with something? n I - I noticed you talking with your friend and you seemed to - to give a big sigh.

(long stretch of dialogue)

X: I er - I actually speak French because I come from a sp - a French-speaking area n in Canada.
Y: Oh you do?
X: Yeah n but er...
Y: Aah...
X: ... and you need some help with n [translating?
Y: Just - just] translating. Yeah. You (wouldn't) - would you be interested?
X: Well, it's beginning of the term and I don't have very much to do. [...]

A NS informant's comment on the first version was that a native speaker would have stopped to wait for some kind of reaction from Y. A more general comment on X's behaviour by the same informant was that X keeps rambling, and the way she adds on information is not "idiomatic" but gives the impression

that X is nervous. This comment at least implicitly captures the lack of reciprocity very often found in the talk of Finns. Admittedly, in a cross-cultural encounter many situational factors cause a great deal of stress to the non-native speaker, and the language learner has to focus on getting his/her message across. But a certain inability or reluctance to subject one's views to criticism, let alone to develop one's views in and through the process of exchanging ideas with other people, seems almost to be the "norm" in Finland.

C. Finally, at the *level of the conversational move*, there are differences between NSs and NNSs in the way an FTA is brought up and, relatedly, in the amount of supportive work (ie. preparatory and supportive moves, cf. Edmondson and House 1981) done in connection with the FTA. A native speaker norm seems to be to produce *a speech act set*, so that the FTA is expressed several times in maybe slightly different terms (what could be called the multiple head phenomenon in discourse, cf. Edmondson and House 1981), while the interlanguage/Finnish norm is to reduce the FTA to a solitary speech act. In the NS-NNS version of Example 2, the FTA of offer, besides being packed into one utterance or conversational move together with some preparatory and some supportive work (X apologizes and gives a reason why she made the offer), only comes up at this one point in conversation.

A general finding was that not enough supportive work, such as giving reasons or extra information after the FTA, was done by the students. For example, an expression of thanks (Thank you so much) is in native-speaker speech almost always followed up by other accompanying elements such as 'complimenting' (You're wonderful) and 'reassuring' (Just what I wanted/And blue's my favorite colour) (Nyyssönen 1990:20). Furthermore, the supportive moves made by the students were neutral and noncommittal in tone. This aspect of the students' behaviour is in line with the finding above, namely that they neglected the marking of involvement and positive affect.

Symbolizing norms

Symbolizing norms, which are also culture-dependent, specify "the channels of communication and the expressive means judged appropriate to convey a message, function or attitude" (Nyyssönen 1990:16). They thus refer to how a

speech act, in our case the FTA, should be properly expressed, verbally or non-verbally.

A *pragmalinguistic failure* results from a violation of the relevant symbolizing norm. Jenny Thomas claims that this type of failure "occurs when the pragmatic force mapped by the speaker onto a given utterance is systematically different from the force most frequently assigned to it by native speakers of the target language, or when speech act strategies are inappropriately transferred from L1 to L2" (Thomas 1983:99). This type of failure is basically a linguistic problem which can be attended to fairly easily in second-language teaching.

At the *level of individual speaking turns*, how a given speech act is expressed by native speakers is very often routinized and idiomatic in its pragmatic marking. Native speakers also know the proper amount of pragmatic marking of politeness, for example, so that there is not too little or too much of it for the situation. By contrast, compare the above offer of help by X. It is very tentative and also very formal (*I thought, might* are used as mitigating devices), perhaps too much so in a conversation between two students. On the other hand it is quite on-the-record as an offer: it makes a very direct reference to "helping you", which can in fact make it hard for Y not to accept this offer if he should want to do so. It is possible that two native speakers who do not know each other beforehand, even though both students would try to avoid an on-the-record offer by directing the conversation around it in some way, for example, towards a request for help from the "receiving" party. Even this can be answered by what is still an off-the-record offer, as in the example above: *Well, it's beginning of the term and I don't have very much to do.* In the offer made by the Finnish student, the slight unidiomaticity of pragmatic marking may also contribute to its direct effect: *might* (at least in my opinion) sounds a little strange and almost too casual in this context, as if X meant to convey something like "I haven't got anything better to do, so I might as well help you". This is clearly unintentional, since X does not attempt to create a more casual atmosphere at other points in the conversation.

More generally, in -P-D situations, where the participants are good (simulated) friends, and where therefore casual and jocular language would be the norm, Finns were not able to join in but were as a rule more matter-of-fact. As for the FTA in these situations, students seemed to regard the imposition involved as

so high that they often resorted to formal and tentative style in presenting it. When inviting the other person or reminding him/her of something, it seemed difficult for students to be polite without being almost too tentative, ie. there was excessive pragmatic marking (cf. to a student friend: *I was wondering if it could be possible for you to n give it [= a small amount of money] back to me or at least some of it*). On the other hand the students had trouble using informal language without sounding almost insulting, i.e. there was inadequate pragmatic marking (cf. in a +P+D situation X's boss has just admitted that she does not remember that a particular problem to do with X's wages had been talked about a couple of days ago, to which X says: *Yes I thought you wouldn't ha ha*. Also, in a -P+D situation X has agreed to translate an article to Y, a student in the same dormitory, and Y says that she is willing to pay for it, to which X says: *How much ((laughs))*?) In a -P+D situation, which is a symmetrical constellation, students likewise tended to present the FTA in a very formal way. This possibly reflects a cultural difference in the weighting of impositions: in Finland impositions seem to be perceived as higher than in the target-language culture. Lastly and not surprisingly, in the +P+D situations, where the students are in a lower or less dominant position, they experience the power difference as very great and use formal and tentative style.

The idiomaticity of pragmatic marking is of course a very subtle thing; learners were often on the verge of saying the right thing but then something went slightly wrong and the utterance came out in not quite the idiomatic form. Inconsistency in the choice of strategy was indeed a recurring phenomenon in the interlanguage of Finnish university students, and it is a result, apart from differing judgments on the conversational norms relevant for the particular context, also of deficiencies in their idiomatic control of English.

Conclusion

It is obvious (and became obvious to us quite early on in the project) that we must compare both types of strategies, framing and symbolizing, before we can say anything definite about the level of social competence of our students. Some of the features of the interlanguage conversational style can be seen to result from cultural differences and culture-specific norms; at the level of framing norms there is evidence, for example, that a deference system is prevalent in the

Finnish culture, as opposed to the solidarity system prevalent in the target language culture. On the other hand, some of the features of the learner style can quite clearly be traced back to deficiencies in the "purely" linguistic or structural skills of the students, and more especially in the idiomatic control of the target language. In many cases, however, no one clear explanation can be found.

Another reason why Finnish students of English fail to contribute "fully" to the interaction may be that they are not always able (or less able than NSs) to relate the framing and symbolizing norms to the situational context, ie. to the stage of the ongoing discourse, to the topic and the setting, to the participant roles and relations, etc. Even though they master the relevant strategies of the target culture at some theoretical level, the situational constraints may prevent them from applying this knowledge, and they resort to the Finnish practices instead.

As analysts our own cultural frame seemed to escape us, so that it often became impossible to make any cultural claims or generalizations any more, certainly not any other than preliminary ones. This problem was most acute at the level of framing norms; until recently there has been a tendency to understate the significance of differences in this area, and, consequently, not much research, cultural or cross-cultural, has been done so far. At the same time, differences in the area of symbolizing norms have perhaps been too much at the centre of attention in recent pragmatic analyses, and their significance can indeed easily be overstated (cf. Nyyssönen 1990:23). It often makes no sense to compare one solitary speech act cross-culturally, without any reference to the context in which it occurs, the overall situational tone, etc. The symbolizing norms therefore did not gain equal importance in the treatment above.

In conclusion, what we wanted to achieve in the Contrastive Discourse Analysis Project was to make ourselves and others more aware of the possible differences in the communicative styles of Finns and native speakers of English, ie. to acquire contrastive information and to increase cross-cultural awareness. In the *Lexis in Discourse* Project mentioned at the beginning of this paper, idiomaticity is the central point of interest. The pragmatic marking of a speech act is closely linked with the idiomatic structure of a given language. The idiomatic control of English could be enhanced by transferring the focus in teaching, at a suitable stage, more clearly to the idiomatic lexical patterning in the target language and

to the ways in which this patterning is made use of for communicative and strategic purposes, in naturally-occurring and ongoing discourse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brown, P. and S. Levinson 1987. *Politeness: some universals in language usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Edmondson, W. and J. House 1981. *Let's talk, and talk about it: a pedagogic interactional grammar of English.* München, Wien, Baltimore: Urban & Schwarzenberg.

Edmondson, W., J. House, G. Kasper and B. Stemmer 1984. Learning the pragmatics of discourse: a project report, *Applied Linguistics* 52, 113-127.

Kärkkäinen, E. and P. Raudaskoski 1988b. Onnistuneen keskustelun edellytyksiä: rutiinien ja strategioiden tärkeydestä, in H. Nyyssönen, J. Ikineva and K. Timlin (eds.), *Approaches to the teaching of the English language and culture III,* Publications of the Department of English 8, University of Oulu.

Kärkkäinen, E. and P. Raudaskoski 1988. Social language skills of Finnish speakers of English, in L. Laurinen and A. Kauppinen (eds.), *Problems in language use and comprehension,* AFinLA Yearbook 1988, Helsinki, 105-124.

Loveday, L. 1982. *The Sociolinguistics of learning and using a non-native language.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Nyyssönen, H. 1990. Lexis in discourse and the acquisition of socio-cultural competence in the target language, in H. Nyyssönen, L. Kuure, E. Kärkkäinen and P. Raudaskoski (eds.), *Proceedings from the 2nd Finnish Seminar on Discourse Analysis,* September 27-28, 1988, Oulu, Publications of the Department of English 9, University of Oulu.

Räinä, S. 1990. The degree of involvement and interest shown by Finns and native speakers in face-to-face interaction. An unpublished seminar paper. Department of English, University of Oulu.

Thomas, J. 1983. Cross-cultural pragmatic failure, *Applied Linguistics* 4, 91-112.

RUNNING AGAINST TIME AND TECHNOLOGY: PROBLEMS IN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH INTO WRITTEN BUSINESS COMMUNICATION

Hilkka Yli-Jokipii
University of Turku

Introduction

Written business communication has traditionally not received the scholarly interest that other fields of professional writing have. The language of science and engineering for instance are better covered in this respect (see Robinson 1980; Moran and Journet 1985; Johns 1986). This paper will discuss some problems involving empirical research into written business communication in Finnish and English. Some of these problems are obvious reasons for the scarcity of research in this field.

The discussion in this paper will be based on the assumption that we are dealing with an extensive volume of data, and what follows applies to the compilation of real-life material for the purpose of a quantitative study on relative frequencies of chosen linguistic phenomena. This is close to the type of research that for instance Nigel Holden called for in a paper presented in the Barcelona Conference on Language Learning and Business Education (Holden 1989:43):

> ... we know surprisingly little about language usage and performance in business contexts and in relation to companies' competitive quest for resources and strategic advantage. ... There is a need all in all for empirical investigations which attempt to study language in the business world for what it is. These studies are not only necessary in order to enhance our understanding of language as a facet of corporate communication. There is another reason: how people use language in business contexts represents one of the most potential social influences on modern life. It is curious that this matter has been neglected for so long.

At this point an acknowledgement must be made, however, of some recent manifestations of cross-cultural interests in research into business English. By

the 80's only some haphazard attempts were made at dealing with cross-cultural issues in research into business communication (see Gieselman 1980:8), and what few studies there were tended to be related to behavioral rather than linguistic issues (eg. Haneda and Shima 1981). The continuing deficit in the US trade with Japan, however, has prompted the American authorities to find reasons also in their business people's cultural behaviour, and the recent developments in Europe are causing additional anxiety among the American business professionals. The theme of the 1988 International Convention of the Association for Business Communication, for instance, was 'Global Implications for Business Communications' (see Bruno 1988) with many worthwhile contributions, but a mention will only be made of Ulla Connor's (1988) contrastive paper on persuasive business correspondence between an American and a Japanese firm. As the title implies, this paper was also based on a particular case, and there are more of those focusing on one cross-cultural aspect or another. Another indication of the current interest in cross-cultural matters in the United States materialized in a conference that took place in April 1990 at Eastern Michigan University with the theme 'Languages and Communication for World Business and the Professions'.

There is an awareness in Europe, as well, of the demands that the Single European Market scheduled to become effective in 1992, and, more currently, the potential European Economic Area comprising also some eastern European countries, will place on international communication competence (Verrept 1989). The Conference on Business Learning and Business Education held in Barcelona (see Silcock 1989), and another in Antwerp, are indications of a fresh European interest in advancing and promoting education in business language and business language teaching, prompted by this worldwide awareness of the importance of intercultural factors in real-life communication.

This paper will focus on three issues. Firstly, after dealing with the terminological diversity in labelling written business communication today, it will introduce the problems in establishing sub-categories within this language variety and present a pattern for the classification of current written business communication. Secondly, it will deal with the role that some of the categories in the established pattern have in cross-cultural communication with reference to the changes taking place in international communication systems. It will also enunciate some problems in the treatment of cross-cultural issues in

international business writing with the Finnish language as one element. Finally, the discussion will cover the accessibility and diversity of real-life material. The problem of research into written business communication will be treated as a struggle against time and technical development from the viewpoint of the impact that these two factors have on real-life business communication practices.

The present discussion will thus be focused on the considerations preceding the linguistic analysis, as the decisions taken at the stage of establishing the scope of the study will decisively mold the final outcome of the analysis of the material. The central concerns in compiling the real-life material are crystallized in these questions: *what*, *where* and *when?* The answers are influenced by factors which can be called the three T's: *terminology*, *technology* and *time*. Additionally, the *cultural environment* affects, perhaps surprisingly, the very compilation stage, although from another angle. The network of problems is presented in Figure 1.

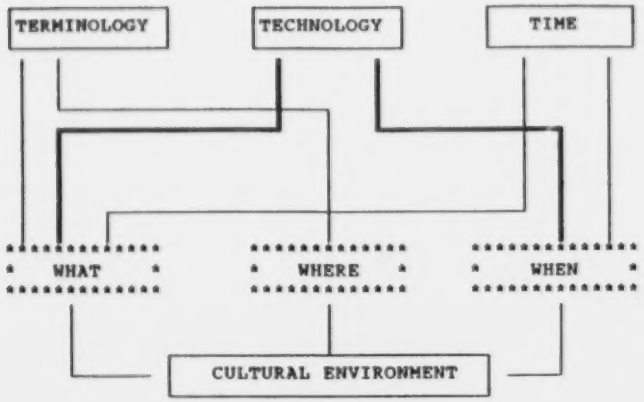

Figure 1. Basic concerns in compiling material for empirical research into written business communication.

The question of *what* refers to the composition of material, *where* to the source of material, and *when* both to the dates of individual data and the period of time that the study covers. These factors, although separate in themselves, have an intricate and overlapping influence, as shown in Figure 1. The following discussion will be related to the considerations introduced in this figure and references will be made to it from time to time.

The scope of business communication

Let us start the discussion by looking at terminology and establishing what may be meant by the term *business* in the phrase 'business communication'. The word 'business' is now quite current in Europe as well as in the United States, where it has always been more widely used. This term seems to be superseding the more economically oriented and slightly pompous-sounding term *commerce*, although in her bibliography on ESP from 1980 Robinson talks about articles and textbooks on the language of commerce and not of business at all. Thus the change has been rather rapid in favour of 'business'. But what does this term include? This question has interested American scholars for more than half a century, and one of the needs to define this concept is the administrative system of their colleges and universities, where faculties and departments may have to compete for the same courses, students and funds (Gieselman 1989:20-35). In a recent collection of articles entitled *Writing in the business professions* (Kogen 1989), business is defined broadly to embody "any working situation, whether corporate governmental professional or industrial" (Kogen 1989:xiv). The concept of business communication covers at least the following areas:

- corporate communication
- organizational communication
- managerial communication
- administrative or governmental communication
- technical communication

The first three concepts refer to the communication performed daily in ordinary profit-making companies (Flatley 1982; Kilpatrick 1984) or private sector organizations. In line with Moran and Journet (1985) and Moran and Moran (1985), who deal with business writing as being included in technical communications, we can regard business communication as one section of technical

communication, which might also be described as industrial communication and as including for instance engineering, forestry, computer sciences, and electronics (Trimble 1985:6).

Establishing the content to the term business is then one of the preliminaries in designing the composition of the material. The scholar will have to decide whether examples of communication from such organizations as the Red Cross or Unicef will qualify. He will further have to decide whether items of communication with insurance companies or law firms can be included. A decision will also have to be made as to whether governmental communication involving for instance public purchases and other transactions by cities and schools should qualify for business communication. These considerations relate to the basic concerns of terminology in deciding where to attempt to obtain material from.

We will next deal with the second part of the concept 'business communication' and produce a presentation which will be related to the problems of time and technology. Figure 2 shows one way of summarizing business communication.

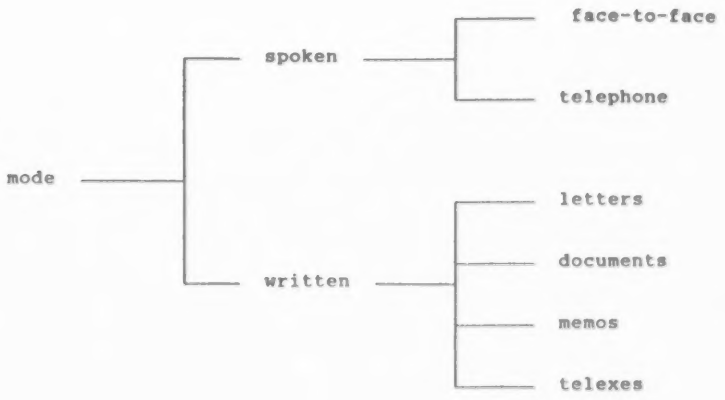

Figure 2. Summary of communication within a business context (L'Estrange (1982) as quoted in Zak and Dudley-Evans 1986:59).

Communication is divided in this network into the spoken and written modes of language. The delicacy of the network illustrating the spoken mode can be increased by splitting face-to-face communication into service encounters and negotiations. This network, which dates from 1982 and was quoted as late as in 1986, does not, however, fully illustrate the present-day-situation any more. The current real-life situation is resembled more closely in Figure 3. This figure is restricted to the written mode of language, thereby reflecting the focus of interest in this paper from now on, which will be on solely written business communication.

This figure shows the basic methods of communication from a slightly different angle than Figure 2. Figure 3 focuses on solely interactional business writing and thus documents, for instance, are excluded from it. Brochures and annual reports are likewise considered non-interactive business writing and therefore outside the scope of this classification. The 'entry condition', to use a term introduced by systemic linguists, of the classification is the method of transmission, and Figure 3 shows the strong impact of the electronic media in the transmission of messages in the business environment. Many businesses are conducting a considerable part of their day-to-day internal and external communication via the display terminal. In this figure this is called computer-to-computer communication, but the concepts terminal-to-terminal communication, electronic mail or shortly 'email' are all current in professional jargon. The use of the telefax or fax machine in business communication has mushroomed at the expense of the telex. These considerations in terms of what the impact of technology is on the outcome of the piece of communication relate to the concept of time.

Figure 3 displays another phenomenon brought about by technology in the form of the electronic devices in the transmission of written pieces of communication, and this phenomenon is of crucial importance in deciding what the material should include: it is no longer possible to determine the genre of the item of communication in terms of the method of transmission. In other words while it was, and still is, possible to know in advance what one would receive from the firm if one asked for telex messages, for instance, one would be likely to receive hand-scribbled messages of many kinds in response to a request for letters, in addition to the traditional neat, type-written and carefully worded items of communication. This leads to the necessity of a new definition of a business

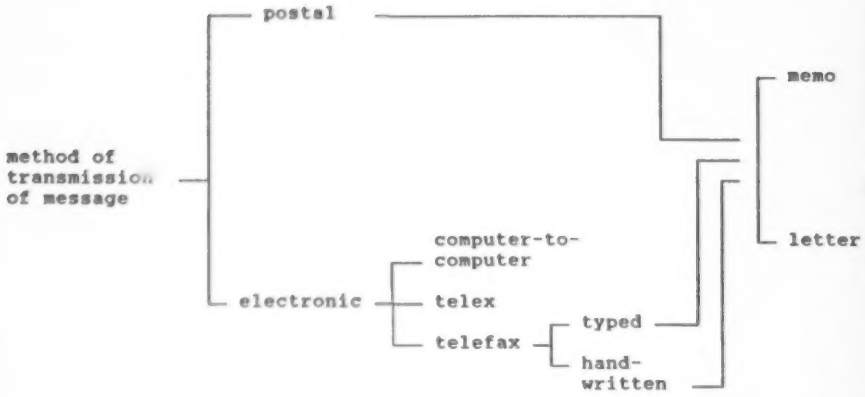

Figure 3. Classification of interactional business writing.

letter, and what follows is an attempt to deal with this dilemma brought about by technology in labelling written business communication.

The business letter

It has been established that *letter* in business environment is no longer restricted to the method of transmission. It is therefore necessary to look for criteria based on the physical appearance of the item of communication, the 'topic framework' or 'staging', as it were (cf. Brown and Yule 1983:150). Firstly, a business letter (henceforth BL) must have a date. This requirement excludes for instance circulars otherwise composed in a letter form. The recipient must further be identified not only in the inside address but with a salutation as well. The sender of the letter must also be specified in the form of a signature. This definition places memoranda or memos into a distinct group from letters, as

memos are not addressed to anyone in particular and frequently no person is identified as the sender of the message, and a memorandum may just carry the following information in way of recipient and sender:

attention: all UK dealers
from: public relations

In a cross-cultural study a letter in Finnish must be allowed to deviate from the requirement of a salutation as this is not a conventional element in business correspondence in Finnish (see below).

The terms 'sender' or 'writer' involve some further conceptual problems, as the sender of a letter may refer to the company or to the signing person, while the real composer of the message, the encoder, may have been the secretary or a junior employee. Therefore it is necessary to specify that in a linguistic context the 'sender' or 'writer' of the letter means the encoder of the linguistic message. Correspondingly the terms 'recipient' or 'reader' refer to the intended decoder or the message.

The widespread adoption of the telefax machine by businesses has enlivened a long-forgotten item: a hand-written message containing the characteristics of a letter listed above. While these messages occasionally qualify for letters when the above criteria are applied, they should not be investigated in the same group with type-written letters. The hand-written, or hand-scribbled messages, are better defined as notes rather than letters in spite of the other characteristics of a letter. These are a step between the telephone and the computer. This means that the speech situation in encoding a message by hand is highly time-conscious, and conventional communicative requirements in terms of politeness and tactics are discarded with the simple choice of the pen instead of the keyboard. The hand-written letter will have to be studied with even closer reference to the spoken language than the type-written one. Correspondingly, a type-written, addressed and signed piece of communication can be seen to indicate that the outcome of the communicative intention is not instantaneous but a product of at least some contemplation.

Cross-cultural considerations

Classification of business letters

One cross-cultural implication in the investigation of BLs is the problem of salutation in the process of distinguishing letters from for example memoranda and notes. Finnish business letters, ie. letters written in Finnish, whose format and layout are rigidly standardized, generally contain no salutation to the addressee; only some recent sales letters or unsolicited offers deviate from this with salutations like *Hei!* (Hello) or *Arvoisa Vastaanottaja* (Dear Receiver). This type of letter is, however, outside the transactional classification provided below, and thus outside the interest of this paper.

Let us now look at the typology of letters and introduce some problems connected with the impact of the cultural environment to the questions of what and when. Traditionally textbooks have classified business letters by type, as shown in the following intuitive summary of textbook classifications from the past two decades:

1. inquiry/request for a quotation
2. quotation/offer/refusal to quote
3. order
4. confirmation/acknowledgement of order
5. packing/shipping instruction
6. payment/invoicing/accounting
7. reminder/collection
8. complaint/claim
9. adjustment
10. agency
11. sales letter

Another solidly established approach is the rhetorical one, while a recent one is the functional approach (Gieselman 1980:13). It does not differ fundamentally from the above typology as yet, but uses the communicative approach with terminology referring to the discourse function of the message, eg. 'refusing to quote' or 'giving negative information'. In real life business communication situations do not conform to the mold of the textbook classifications, but there the typology is considerably more diverse and the boundaries of categories less distinct. This has been empirically established by Flatley (1982), who, in trying to establish the type of communication that some managers were involved in,

started out with a textbook classification, but had subjects adding several categories in the list during the questioning stage. Legal correspondence, proposals and customer relations were among the groups that the business professionals most frequently added in the list. Establishing a set of categories that would convey the real life truth and yet be manageable and unambiguous is therefore a major task for the scholar.

Accessibility and availability of material

I will next deal with the cross-cultural problems that the scholar working with Finnish material is bound to face, and focus the discussion on the accessibility and availability of material. As these concepts are related, they will be covered simultaneously. This discussion relates to the questions of *what?* and *when?* in Figure 1.

It is difficult to obtain Finnish material to cover all sub-groups in the above set of categories. One reason for this is that some transactional situations are not dealt with in writing at all in the Finnish domestic trade. Item 5, for instance, which is a copious group in international communication, including packing and shipping instructions, is hardly represented at all in Finnish interactional writing, as the paperwork included involves basically filling in forms, while the rest of the exchange of information takes place over the telephone, by telex, or with memos via the telefax. Similarly, sub-categories covering banking and agency arrangements represent activities typical of foreign trade, and interactive written communication within these categories is not available in Finnish.

Another problem with availability involves the question of time. In Finland the law requires enterprises to store their files for only five years, and even this obligation is limited to the material pertaining to financial matters, mostly matters having a bearing on taxation. This has two consequences from the researcher's point of view. First, the correspondence that is stored and thus potentially available frequently contains highly confidential information, and firms are understandably not willing to have their trade secrets displayed on linguistic forums and printed in publications, although the letters would be used just to exemplify a linguistic topic. One solution to this is the familiar method of erasing the critical details, numbers, percentages, names of products

and the like, but who would do it? The office personnel tends to be overworked already and cannot be expected to do this 'editorial' work on large quantities of samples. The researchers would naturally be prepared to do this themselves, but again this requires confidence from the firm's part and also the time from someone within the firm to deal with the practical arrangements involved. These problems multiply in relation to the volume of material pursued.

The above considerations apply to the accessibility of classified material. Next, the discussion will be focused on neutral correspondence. Business enterprises, in Finland at least, tend to destroy the correspondence that they are not obliged to store. As letters are an infrequent mode of communication in themselves, the scholar will have to be prepared for a long wait even if he or she succeeds in arranging for someone to store the future correspondence. This situation may also affect the outcome of the correspondence if the writers know that their creations are going to be scrutinized. Another problem is connected with the contents of the letters. Businesses are generally not willing to release their replies to the complaints they have received, for example, or the complaints they have made, as by accommodating the first request they would be placing their business image at stake, and providing the latter might violate certain unwritten rules of business ethics. In these cases the executives will have to be convinced that the material provided will be handled with discretion. This consideration is not restricted to Finnish firms alone, but the small size of the business community in this country requires a greater awareness of these factors than large regions such as the United Kingdom or the United States.

For all these reasons finding the real-life, but specifically Finnish, material to form a representative, well-formed, balanced corpus is hard work, and persuading the business people into co-operation may require persistence. It must be pointed out, however, that the above problems are more letter-specific than business communication-specific. Telexes, for instance, are easier to obtain, as until quite recently they have been the most abundant type of unpublished written business communication (cf. Zak and Dudley-Evans 1986:59). One might also think that the business professionals' relative willingness to release telex material compared to letters is an indication of their greater respect towards the genre of the letter.

Conclusion

It has been suggested in this paper that the linguistic outcome of a piece of communication in business is greatly, although not totally, determined by the mode of communication, and strongly related to the date of the transmission of the message. The telex as a mode is losing ground and the fax machine or the telefax is bringing new polar considerations into communication: at one extreme it strengthens and brings back, by virtue of its capacity to enable the instantaneous transmission of data, the genre of the letter that was disappearing under the realm of the telex, and at the other extreme it is introducing a new mode of business communication, that of a hand-written, instantly transferred piece of communication having the characteristics of a letter. This raises some new questions, eg. will cross-cultural business education have to provide a course in the graphology of the culture involved, or will communication fail because of the encoder's bad handwriting or decoder's poor ability to decipher it?

With the rapid emergence of new media for communication the researcher has little time to investigate the properties of one mode before another device enters the market and sets its mark on the linguistic outcome of the piece of communication. Can linguists keep up with this language change brought about by the rapid development of communication media in the international business communication? One's pessimism is mitigated by the increasing awareness and interest in this area of LSP, as indicated at the beginning of this paper. More importantly, the cultural findings in communication analysis have a long-lasting value, and these findings are not dependent on the mode of transmission of the message. Therefore, research into cross-cultural issues in business communication has a large order in the present and future written business communication.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Professor Risto Hiltunen, University of Turku, for reading through the typescript of this article and for giving valuable comments on it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brown, G. and G. Yule 1983. *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge.

Bruno, S. J. (ed.), *Global implications for business communications: theory, technology, and practice*, Proceedings from the 53rd National and 15th International Convention of the Association for Business Communication, Houston, Texas.

Connor, U. 1988. A contrastive study of persuasive business correspondence: American and Japanese, in S. J. Bruno, (ed.), *Global implications for business communications: theory, technology, and practice*, Proceedings from the 53rd National and 15th International Convention of the Association for Business Communication, Houston, Texas, 57-72.

Flatley, M. E. 1982. A comparative analysis of the written communication of managers at various organizational levels in the private business sector, *JBC* 19:3, 35-49.

Gieselman, R. D. 1980. Research in business communication: the state of the art, *JBC* 17:4, 3-18.

Gieselman, R. D. 1989. Business communication as an academic discipline, *Issues in Writing* 2:1, 20-35.

Haneda, S. and H. Shima 1981. Japanese communication behavior as reflected in letter-writing, *JBC* 19:1, 19-32.

Holden, N. J. 1989. The gulf between language studies and management studies: introducing communication competence as an interfacing concept, in P. Silcock (ed.), *Language learning in business education*, Conference Proceedings, Barcelona, 33-46.

Johns, A. M. 1986. The language of business, *ARAL*, Vol. 7, 3-17.

Kilpatrick, R. 1984. International business communication practices, *JBC* 21:4, 33-44.

Kogen, M. (ed.) 1989. *Writing in the business professions*. Urbana, Illinois.

L'Estrange, H. 1982. Categories and sub-categories in ESP, with special reference to the teaching of English for business indicating areas of possible research. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Aston, Birmingham.

Moran, M. H. and M. G. Moran 1985. Business letters, memoranda and resumes, in M. G. Moran and B. Journet (eds.), *Research in technical communication: a bibliographic sourcebook*, Westport, CT, 313-349.

Moran, M. G. and B. Journet (eds.), *Research in technical communication: a bibliographic sourcebook*, Westport, CT.

Robinson, P. 1980. *ESP (English for Specific Purposes): the present position*. Oxford.

Silcock P. (ed.), *Language learning in business education, Conference Proceedings, Barcelona.*

Trimble, L. 1985. English for science and technology. Cambridge.

Verrept, S. 1989. A proposal for concrete cross-cultural research within Europe, in P. Silcock (ed.), *Language learning in business education*, Conference Proceedings, Barcelona, 311-320.

Zak, H. and T. Dudley-Evans 1986. Features of word omission and abbreviation in telexes, *ESP Journal* 5:1, 59-71.

INNOCENTS ABROAD: THE POLITICS OF CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Hannele Dufva
University of Jyväskylä

"Every day is a dawn of new error."

Although it may be difficult to determine what successful communication is like, the opposite seems to be readily recognized. Failures are recognized - and remembered. Failures occur in conversations between two native speakers, and there are various kinds of interaction slips that colour the dullness of everyday interactions (see Heikkinen and Valo 1985). However, it seems that errors, slips and blunders are felt to be especially discriminating in cross-cultural communication.

In this paper I discuss some failure types that occur in cross-cultural interactions, mainly from the point of view of Finns and Finland. My data is largely anecdotal and "folk-theoretical". I have collected material from various sources: newspaper items, collections of jokes, proverbs and so on. I also asked students on some of my courses (during spring 1990) to recollect cross-cultural failures of their own. I also discuss the relevance of such material and its indications to cross-cultural research.

Foreign language errors, ie. *grammatical* or *lexical* ones, have been analyzed quite thoroughly, and much data has been collected in error analysis projects (a bibliographical survey in eg. Palmberg 1980). At present, however, it is more and more readily acknowledged that language errors, in many cases, do not really matter. That is, the linguistic frame is really too narrow in the description of cross-cultural communication failures. Both native speakers and foreign language learners make mistakes: some of them are socially awkward, some not. Although some grammatical mistakes and foreign accents may be felt "intellectually inferior" or "funny", it seems that there is a class of errors which is socially more dramatic. *Non-grammatical* errors, or the errors concerned with

breakdown of conversational rules or nonverbal behaviour seem to compromise the speaker as a person and they carry a different name: blunders or gaffes.

The cross-cultural communication situation is often delicate. The participants are not equal when using the native language of one of the participants. The native speaker typically knows more, and is more skilled in the use of language. S/he has a more dominant role in the situation. This far, foreign language learning and cross-cultural communication have been studied primarily from the point of view of learner, or foreigner. It can be strongly suggested, however, that cross-cultural communication should not be studied solely from this point of view. The role of the native speaker (or the observer/the addressee) should not be neglected. Cross-cultural interaction is a two-way process, and it involves mutual understanding - or misunderstanding (see eg. Viljanen-Saira 1986).

Although it is difficult to outline the elements of successful cross-cultural communication, some rough suggestions can be made. It is important to the participants to give each other a positive impression of oneself as a person, as a representative of a certain group or organization, and as a representative of one's own culture. If both participants aim at not losing one's own face and not making the other lose it, the result is satisfactory. In the following I discuss some reasons why this may be difficult.

Love thy neighbour?

First, cross-cultural communication may be difficult, because there exist so many negative attitudes and unfavourable stereotypes towards people from other cultures (for a general discussion of cultures and their evaluation see eg. Pesonen 1986; Alho et al. 1989). Stereotyping as such is not to be seen as a negative phenomenon: it simply helps us to organize bits of information and attitudes of all kinds are embedded in every situation (see eg. Allwood ed. 1988).

One's own culture is usually positively evaluated: people usually have both strong positive linguistic and cultural identity.

M oon meilt, muut on meirn krannista.

is a Finnish proverb that sums up this feeling: the centre of existence is where we live, and other people are outsiders and maybe inferior as well. But it is not unusual that people have negative attitudes to their own language and culture either.

Finns are the most civilized barbarians of Europe.

goes a more modern Finnish saying, implying that Finns do have some feelings of inferiority in rapidly integrating Europe. In fact, some studies give support to the idea that poor self-confidence might be typical for Finns (see Daun 1989).

Similarly, other cultures are also either positively or negatively scaled. For example, Finns tend to admire Western European or Anglo-American cultures and adapt cultural loans and imitate their cultural sphere. "Civilized" countries or "civilized" languages , for a Finn, imply almost without an exception a Western European country or language (see Dufva et al 1989).

Negative attitudes towards other cultures, unfortunately, seem to be common as well. In Finland, as well as in Western Europe, Eastern cultures and races have been noted as inferior.

Ryss on ryss vaikka sen voissa paistais.

was a popular saying in Finland from the 1920's on, and states that you cannot make a Russian any better even if you fried him in butter. The anti-Russian feelings in Finland have probably several sources: general ideas about racial inferiority as well as later social and political confrontations (see eg. Immonen 1988; Luostarinen 1986).

The dislike of other cultures is naturally related to their social and political power. More powerful cultures can be felt (often with good reason) as a threat, and smaller cultures, especilly minorities, are either ignored or suppressed.

Suosi suomalaista, potki pakolaista.

is, supposedly, a joke, but as a print on a T-shirt front it took its Finnish vendor to court. The official refugee policy of Finland disapproved of the sentiment "Buy Finnish, beat the refugee" slogan.

The negative attitudes towards other nations and language have always flourished. Here are some examples that I have picked from different sources:

> I am willing to love all mankind, except an American. (Samuel Johnson)
>
> The German mind has a talent for making no mistakes but the very greatest. (Clifton Fadiman)
>
> After shaking hands with a Greek, count your fingers. (Albanian proverb)
>
> Fight world hunger - feed Iranians to Cambodians. (Graffiti)

Close cultural encounters of various kinds

If different nations do have such notions of each other, it easy to see that negative stereotypes are one reason for difficulties in cross-cultural encounters.

It is true that situations of cross-cultural communication can be very different. For example, it may be an individual encounter. Missionaries, anthropologists, journalists, tourists, businessmen, peace corps workers and so on may encounter a whole culture as an individual (an introduction into cross-cultural face-to-face communication in eg. Brislin 1981). From the individual point of view the (negative) results of such encounters can be classified as errors, slips, blunders, misunderstandings, mistakes and so on (examples discussed in Thomas 1983; Thomas 1984).

When societies meet, or cultures clash, the situation is rather different. Wars, crusades, explorations, colonialism are examples of wider encounters and not necessarily positive ones. These encounters have traditionally lead to language deaths and culture deaths, but also to actual language and culture murders. This is a concept used by eg. Aikio (1988) for the situation of Sami people in Northern Finland. It is not uncommon for a culture to commit cultural suicide either: people may reject their own heritage and trade it for the majority culture.

Of course, cultures can co-operate. Nevertheless, recent examples have shown that the problems of multinational and multilingual societies (such as in Soviet Union, for example) can not be belittled.

However, cross-cultural encounters have been studied mostly from the point of the individual (see eg. Metsl 1988): this is also the point of view of this paper. When two individuals of different cultures and/or languages meet, it is probable that some problems occur. The resulting problems can, however, be caused by both the native and the foreigner alike; it is wrong to attribute the errors to the foreigner only.

Naive interpreters

In addition to naive speakers, there are also naive hearers or interpreters. In fact, misunderstandings, (or hearer's errors) seem to be rather common, although they are relatively little discussed of (see eg. Bredella and Haack 1988). For example, people often have difficulties in interpreting certain accents or varieties, although they might be familiar with the language as such. In Finland, for example, the Swedish that is taught at school is the Finland-Swedish variety, widely different in pronunciation from the Swedish as spoken in Sweden. That causes problems of interpretation.

A Finnish young man is hitch-hiking in Finland. A car driven by a Swede stops and gives him a ride. The Finn tries to keep up a polite conversation in Swedish, but has great difficulties understanding the accent of his interlocutor.

- Where do you live in Sweden? asks the Finn.
- Xbztswktynfgbmklm, answers the Swede, quite unintelligibly.
- And where in Sweden is that? asks the Finn.
- (Very clearly) STOCKHOLM? Don't you know where Stockholm is? But it is the capital of Sweden!!

The result of such trivial misunderstanding may be twofold. The Finn may think he has made a fool of himself, and the Swede may get the impression that Finns in general are very ignorant, or that geography is not taught at the Finnish school.

Similar difficulties of interpretation arise when one participant is not familiar with the discourse rules or nonverbal behaviour rules of the other one(s). One strategy that offers itself is that of imitation. An anecdote that is told about Calvin Coolidge should reveal its dangers, although it illustrates a difference between registers or formality degrees rather than a difference between cultures as such.

Calvin Coolidge was elected as the President of the United States, and he had his old friends from the country visiting him. The guests were somewhat timid, and they were imitating their host in order to do everything correctly. Coolidge poured some of his coffee on his saucer. His guests did the same. He poured some cream in and added also sugar. His friends did the same. And then - President Coolidge gave the coffee to his cat...

The correct interpretation of the seemingly odd, strange or foolish habits of foreigners is difficult. It is still more difficult to behave in a manner they do. Consequently, people commit all kinds of errors both in their verbal productions, discourse patterns, on verbal behaviour and social manners. These errors are discussed below.

Language problems

Do language errors really matter? It seems rather obvious that people do not feel a sense of failure very deeply, if they happen to use a wrong case ending in Finnish or choose a wrong word order for an English phrase. In fact, when I asked my students about their cross-cultural failures, nobody reported a purely linguistic error. That is, although speakers of foreign languages make verbal errors, they rarely seem to think about them during sleepless nights: "Oh bother! I used partitive instead of genitive again!"

There is, however, a small group of verbal errors that seem to be memorable occasions for the hearers and sometimes also for the speaker, and that is when the speaker inadvertently stumbles on a taboo expression of the language in question. The results differ widely depending on the morals and sense of humour of the hearers.

For example, non-native pronunciation may lead to errors that either delight or despair the natives. *Sheets* may become *shits*, *peace* is heard as *piss*, or *third*, in a

typically Finnish pronunciation becomes, *turd*. *Important* men may, by the power of Finnish accent, turn into *impotent* ones. In Finland, an innocent foreigner has been heard to exclaim: "*Nain* eilen ensimmaisen kerran poroja!", when he only meant that he saw reindeers, not that he actually had sexual intercourse with them.

Lexical difficulties may arise from different sources. First, there are so-called interlingual taboo words. These are words or expressions that either in their written or pronounced form strongly resemble a taboo word in another language. This is something that the advertisers are (and also should be) very familiar with (see Aman 1982).

Aman (1982) gives certain trade names as examples. A French soft drink called *Pshitt* did not appeal to English-speaking audiences, and also the Dutch liqueur called *Fockinck* is judged to be a bit improper. A Finnish anecdote (not a verified one) tells about the exporters of a Finnish rye crisp, who tried to sell their product to United States as *Rape* (a nonsense word based on the adjective *rapea*, 'crisp'). Also a car product, wind-screen washer called *Superpiss* might not be a best-seller in English-speaking countries. Finnish speakers on the other hand, have been mildly amused by such trade name as *Rivo*, 'obscene'. The adolescents seem to be especially concerned with looking for "daring" connotations, and *Zanussi* products, for example, seem to amuse them because the name vaguely resembles a Finnish verb for sexual intercourse.

Tourist guides also seem to be very familiar with these interlingual taboos. Guides often, as a part of their story repertoire, warn the tourists against using certain expressions. For example, Finnish tourists in Italy are forbidden to say "Katso merta!", which means "Have a look at the sea!" since the words might remind Italians of taboo words of their language. Also, Finnish people, especially women, are told not to use the exclamative "Hui!" in Russian-speaking company, since the word strongly resembles the Russian word for the male sexual organ. A story tells that the name of a Finnish children's play, *Herra Huu*, 'Mister Huu', had to be changed for the same reason when it was staged in Leningrad.

Also many foreign personal names will be rapidly or unclearly pronounced by shy Finns for the same reason. The French Nobel prize winner in literature

called *Perse* (in Finnish 'arse') is little spoken of. *Helsingin Sanomat* also published an article of strange place names of (former) Eastern Germany titled *Paskassa asuu 140 ihmistä*, meaning literally *there are 140 inhabitants living in shit/Paska*. A living proof of the comic value of these kind of interlingual taboos is of course Jean-Piere Cusela, a role character of Vesa-Matti Loiri, a Finnish entertainer. For a Finn, this pseudo-French names implies both 'farting' and 'pissing'.

Cross-cultural accidents are also caused by the confusion of two L2 items. *Kokkare* 'dumpling' has been known to change to *kikkeli* 'prick', and *kypärä* 'children's hat' into *kyrpä* 'prick'. The result: dead silences...

Another class of language errors that seem to end up in collections of anecdotes (see eg. Blundell ed. 1981; Parsons 1969; Lederer 1989) or autobiographical sketches are the ambiguous and/or clumsy translations or odd spellings of a foreign language. Often they are found in written productions: menus, signs or directions. These "funny errors" will travel around and in most cases it is impossible to state their accuracy. A good one might be applied over and over again into new situations and locations just as anecdotes usually will.

> The manager has personally passed all the water served here. (An Acapulco hotel)
>
> Order now your summers suit. Because is big rush we will execute all customers in strict rotation. (A Jordan tailor's shop)
>
> Stuff only. (A pub in Jyväskylä)

Anecdotes are told also of incompetent professional interpreters. When President Carter visited Poland, he expressed a wish to get well acquainted with the Polish people. The interpreter, it is claimed, translated the polite utterance in more crude terms, and astonished the audience with the message that the President felt a strong carnal lust towards the people of Poland.

Discourse problems

Discourse errors include violations of conversational and discourse rules, such as turn-taking, politeness, topics and so on. The selection and misselection of

speech act strategies and such has been studied (see Thomas 1983; Thomas 1984). The following example of native/non-native (Russian) conversation comes from Thomas (1984):

FS: What do you think of him?
NS: I can't say I was overenamoured.
FS: What do you mean by saying that?
NS: You shouldn't have asked if you didn't want to be told!!

The non-native speaker was seeking information, but the native speaker interpreted it as a challenge. Similarly, Finnish students report that their habit of asking monosyllabic "What?" questions in England has gained rapidly negative feedback, and taught them to ask questions in a more multisyllabic way.

The temporal patterns of conversation: its pauses, its speech rhythm and its turn-taking also cause troubles for Finnish speakers in many Western European countries. It may be that there are certain characteristics typical for Finnish speech. Longer pauses in turn-switching, or silent pauses instead of "filled" ones might be typical examples (see eg. Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1985). Finns, for example, seem to have a different idea of politeness than Germans or the English. Many students told they found it difficult to get a word edgewise into a German conversation, for example. They consider themselves polite when they patiently wait for their turn, while Germans consider them shy when they do not actively participate. This probably leads to a situation in which the German speaker resumes a still more dominant and - as he thinks- a more helpful role. The German speaks more, the Finn becomes more and more silent.

Addressing people correctly may also be difficult. Different countries, religions and groups have different ideas of what is polite and what is not. Conventions of writing down names differ and may cause further difficulties. In China, for example, the name that is written last is not the surname and not a polite term for address. A gentleman called Lo Win Hao will not be delighted if he is called Mr. Hao on a first meeting (Axtell 1988). People from countries that are used to free use of T pronouns (for example Swedish *du* and Finnish *sinä*) may think V pronouns (for example French *vous* and German *Sie*) rather stuffy. And conversely, V users consider the T users impolite.

The nationality issue may also cause problems of address. Some years ago it was difficult to know whether to call people of Estonia *Estonians* or *Soviet citizens*. Nowadays it would obviously be an insult to call them anything but *Estonian*. People of the British Isles also obviously take heed of certain national issues and Scots do not like to be called *English*. This national question may also involve certain difficulties in language choice. Finns, for example, may find it difficult to decide whether to use English or Swedish when they address Swedish people.

Topics are an old favourite of cross-cultural blunders. Certain types of guide-books for businessmen and travellers quite often explicitly warn against certain taboo topics (see eg. Axtell 1988; Aaltola, Harjula, Lagus ja Ruuskanen 1989). Politics, religion, minorities are naturally world-wide taboo areas. A Finnish student later noticed that she had made an awkward topic error when, at a Muslim dinner, she happily chattered about some "sweet little piggies" she had seen.

Nonverbal problems

Contrary to common folk wisdom, nonverbal behaviour is not universal. Therefore its rules also cause misunderstandings and confusion. These are not necessarily errors. They might be simply features of one's own culture and language that are judged as funny or insulting by other cultures. Others might result from an inadequate interpretation of the other culture, and still others may be caused by the sheer awkwardness of being in an unfamiliar situation in an unfamiliar culture.

For example, the paralinguistic features (ie. features of vocal behaviour) of Finnish speech may seem rough or impolite to foreigners. Finnish smooth intonation contours and lack of word-final rising intonation are often interpreted as dull or even insulting. Speech rhythm is described as rugged: "Why were you quarrelling?" asked a German boy when he heard two Finnish girls having a normal friendly conversation.

Kinetic communication may be more difficult. Certain gestures, for example, may acquire a word-like status in a culture. They are known by most of the

speakers in the community, and they have a clear lexical interpretation. Unfortunately, these emblems are not universal. An American making his own OK gesture in Rio de Janeiro got an icy reception, since his gesture had an obscene reference in Brazil. And also, facial expressions, such as a smile, are used very differently in cultures. Postures are also widely different. For example, many popular magazines reported that Princess Diana had made a blunder sitting in a posture that revealed her shoe-soles in an Arabic country.

Differences in proxemic behaviour (especially touching) may evoke even panic reactions. More than one of my female Finnish students reported with horror that they had met Arab girls that wanted to walk hand in hand with them. An American businessman also had to think twice when his Arab colleague wanted to hold hands with him. And of course, the right proxemic rules between men and women are especially important and the problems of interpretation are many.

Finally, an area which also involves slips is the use of artefacts: what kind of clothes to wear, how to use make up and so on. It is widely known that Muslim countries forbid revealing dress for women, and tourist clothing may evoke considerable irritation in locals. *Helsingin Sanomat*, for example, (1 February 1990) tells us that although tourism is welcomed in Jordan, the leisure-wear of tourists is felt to cause moral deterioration among the natives.

It is well to respect local habits, but there are also dangers in "going native". It is better not to overdo. An American woman in Togo was reputed to have worn as a necklace a sort of a ribbon that the locals used to keep their loin cloth in its proper place. As she saw the amusement of the locals she realized it would be as funny to her if somebody would wear the elastic of her panties as a necklace (Axtell 1988).

Social errors

Social errors are such blunders that cannot be interpreted strictly in terms of linguistic or nonverbal communication errors. Many student problems seem to belong to this class. It is clear that at least for young students there are definite problem areas: food and drink is one of them.

Students, tourists and businessmen alike have many difficulties concerned with food and drink. There are various food and drink taboos. Ham is banned in muslim countries, as well as alcohol. It is also difficult to know whether one can turn down offers or not. Certain cultures presume that clients, for example, enjoy a cup of tea or a glass of wine before purchasing anything or making a business decision. It is difficult to know how much is polite, or how little is polite, whether it is suitable to leave food or drink left, and so on. Furthermore, table manners are a nuisance: must one use fingers, forks, or forks and knives? Must one eat with one's left hand or right hand? Even the order in which courses are eaten is different. Finnish students abroad feel particularly uncomfortable with salads and soups: are they eaten first or with the main course or after?

Drink is even more risky. Finnish girls, for example, do not have very strict "female drink" rules in their native country, and they may be surprised to notice that some British people consider pints of Guinness unsuitable for young ladies. Females in particular often consider carefully the eternal question: "Who pays the bill?". The habit of Finns to have separate bills for each person may also confuse their company, as well as their waiters and waitresses, in some countries.

Another area that offers many problems is "restroom behaviour". First, which is the polite way of referring to the place (and bodily functions) in question: is it a *restroom, bathroom, toilet, ladies/gents, powder room, loo, can, john* or what. The degrees of what is considered private and hygienic vary also quite a lot in different countries. Finnish students that are used to Scandinavian ideas of cleanliness, may experience unpleasant shocks even in France.

Different sex roles and interaction rules between males and females cause many errors of interpretation, although people are intuitively aware that these matters have to be handled with caution. For Northern European girls, for example, it is indeed difficult to realize that only female company in nocturnal Cairo is considered risky or that the eye-contact with Southern men may be interpreted as an invitation. On the other hand, Finnish young men, who are used to treating their girl friends on terms that they consider equal, may be considered impolite brutes by young ladies from elsewhere.

The fourth group of difficulties centers around the local customs: Finnish sauna may still be an embarrassing experience if the hosts do not realize that their guests might have different norms about nakedness or different ideas of comfortable degree of warmth.

The consequences

Above, I have dealt with largely anecdotal, and largely biassed data. The reports of slips, errors and blunders in these stories are nearly always seen from the point of view of one interactant only. It is extremely seldom that one finds the interpretation of both sides. In real life, errors, blunders and slips are never individual products. Every interaction is an interplay between the (at least) two participants and their cultures. Thus, no matter what one person does, the result can be defined only after the reaction of the other.

If a stranger does something that the native considers stupid, irrelevant or even forbidden, s/he may correct the other:

> Do not play with your spoon, it is childish!

says a British older woman to a Finnish girl, who absent-mindedly stirs her coffee and sucks her coffee spoon. The direct corrections, in fact, are rather rare. It seems to be a general rule in conversation that direct corrections of language or behaviour are reserved for parents, teachers, and alike, and cannot be used in equal conversation to a great extent. The people who constantly correct others are labelled as wiseguys and it is probable that a conversation with them is not considered a pleasure. But, as in the example above, is the rule that is given to the Finnish girl a *British* rule? Or is it a rule of older ladies only? Or perhaps of older stiff ladies? How can the girl know? Being a stranger, she probably considers this piece of advice as a part of a cultural teaching program.

Also, the other participants may be indignant. A Finnish girl refused an offer of coffee in an Arab wedding, and the father of the bride never forgave her. It is probable that heads have been lost because of such "trivial" cross-cultural errors.

Humour is, in many cases, an excellent way out of an awkward situation. Of course, it is better to laugh *with* the foreigner at the humorous situation, and not *at* him.

If one considers the errors from the point of view of interaction, negotiations seem the best way out of the awkward situations. On the basis of conversation analysis we know that the whole interaction indeed can be seen in terms of a kind of a negotiation. Participants have a stock of shared knowledge, and what they do not already share, they negotiate. Understanding each other is a far more complex thing than a mere interpretation of linguistic and verbal messages and problems of cross-cultural understanding are really seldom linguistic problems (see eg. Nikko 1991).

To sum up, it could be suggested that the focus of cross-cultural research should not be on the individual behaviour but the interaction as a process. In practice this means, that although we obviously need all these guidebooks for visitors, we also need guidebooks for hosts. Indeed, some consciousness-raising in cross-cultural matters would not be too bad for anybody.

The truth, and nothing but the truth?

All the stories and student experiences cited both in the present paper and in various guidebooks reflect clearly one basic experience. Experiences that come to be remembered and reported are not necessarily *true* from the point of view of cultures. They are true only from the point of view of the individual.

The reported errors and anecdotes can often be judged as false ones: that is, they superimpose a wrong idea of a language or a culture, a half-truth, or a misinterpretation. For example, an anecdote, which I have read in various sources claims that John F. Kennedy made a mistake with his German and called himself a jelly doughnut in a sentence of a famous speech: "Ich bin ein Berliner!" Although this interpretation of the word is possible, it is equally possible to understand the sentence as Kennedy meant it: *I am a Berliner*. It can be suggested that a great part (perhaps even the majority) of reported cross-cultural errors are such "partial truths".

That is, people who have not a full knowledge of either the language or culture in question tend, however, to explain some linguistic or other behaviour as if they had. They rely on partial knowledge, stereotypes, hasty interpretations of situations and so on. When I asked the students to recall their cross-cultural problems, many reported situations, in which their behaviour, to the outside analyst, was quite acceptable as such: the only thing that seemed to go wrong was that they could not handle the situation after they imagined they had done something incorrect. From the point of view of cross-cultural methodology this means that individual experiences reflect the individual's own interpretations of the situation in question, not real facts.

This is not to claim that cultures are static or uniform. There is no such actual person as a typical Finn. An educated businesswoman from Lahti is different from a Swedish-speaking fisherman from the south-western islands, and he is different still from a seven-year-old girl from Lapland, who is bilingual in Sami and Finnish. They all are different from an old farmer's wife from Savo. Age, social status, education and sex have an effect on the norms and rules of the group in question. People in cross-cultural situations, however, often have a tendency to imagine that a particular situation with a particular person is typical for the whole culture and adds this situation to his stereotypical image of the culture. Sometimes one gets an occasional inkling of such generalizations.

An example: it appears that Susan Sontag, an American, in one of her essays wrote that Swedish people have an odd habit of informing their company whenever they go to the toilet. Jörn Donner, a Finnish writer who has lived in Sweden (and who tells this story in one of his books), had read her essay and wondered about this statement: he had never heard any Swede make such a remark. He happened to know one of the persons Sontag was staying with, and he asked him why Sontag had thought so. "Well", the person explained, "there was only one toilet and as there were many people living in our commune, we always told when we went in so that nobody else would come at the same time". What was obviously very situation-specific behaviour was generalized to be culture-specific.

So, if anything, we should be taught to co-operate: to get information of other cultures, and also to inform our interlocutors of the oddities of our own culture. In actual conversations negotiative strategies are clearly best. If you do not

understand - ask! If you suspect you have made a mistake, explain and apologize. Accommodation does not mean losing one's identity, and politeness is universal, although politeness signals (verbal and nonverbal) vary.

Finally, it should be born in mind, that

To err is human - to totally muck things up needs a computer!

To err, to slip, or to blunder is not the dead-serious disaster it has sometimes been seen as. If you err - so what? As a human being you also have a capacity to correct the situations, and learn of your errors - computers still have something to learn in that respect...

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aaltola, K., J. Harjula, M. Lagus and J. Ruuskanen 1989. *Kulttuureja, käyttytymistä - 80 maata suomalaissilmin*. Helsinki: Vientikoulutussäätiö.

Aikio, M. 1988. *Saamelaiset kielenvaihdon kierteessä*. Helsinki: SKS.

Alho, O., A. Raunio and M. Virtanen 1989. *Ihminen ja kulttuuri*. Helsinki: Vientikoulutussäätiö.

Allwood, J. (ed.) 1985. *Tvärkulturell kommunikation*. Papers in anthropological linguistics 12. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.

Allwood, J. (ed.) 1988. *Attityder och värderingar i kulturmöten. Papers in anthoropological linguistics* 15. Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.

Axtell, R. 1988. *Maailmanmatkaajan hyvät tavat*. Jyväskylä: Rastor.

Blundell, N. (ed.) 1981. *Maailman suurimmat erehdykset*. Helsinki: Kirjateos.

Bredella, L. and D. Haack (eds.) 1988. *Perceptions and misperceptions: the United States and Germany*. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.

Dufva, H., P. Hurme and M. O'Dell 1989. The good, the bad, and the ugly: Cross-cultural aesthetics and ethics of spoken language, in J. Niemi (ed.), *Papers from the eleventh Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics*, Vol. 2, Joensuu: University of Joensuu, 530-544.

Heikkinen, H. and M. Valo 1985. Slips in interaction: the psychopathology of everyday discourse, in J. Forgas (ed.), *Language and social situations*, New York: Springer Verlag, 213-227.

Immonen, K. 1988. *Ryssästä saa puhua...* Helsinki: Otava.

Lederer, R. 1989. *Anguished English*. New York: Dell Publishing.

Lehtonen, J. and K. Sajavaara 1985. The silent Finn, in M. Saville-Troike (ed.), *Perspectives on silence*, Norwood: Ablex Publishing, 193-201.

Liebkind, K. 1988. *Me ja muukalaiset*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Luostarinen, H. 1986. *Periviholinen*. Tampere: Vastapaino.

Metsälä, H. 1988. *Ulkomailla työskentely ja kulttuurien kohtaaminen*. Helsinki: Vientikoulutussäätiö.

Nikko, T. 1991. *Ymmärtäminen natiivin ja vieraan kielen puhujan välisissä keskusteluissa*. Manuscript for a Licentiate thesis in Applied Linguistics. University of Jyväskylä.

Palmberg, R. 1980. *A select bibliography of error analysis and interlanguage studies*. Turku: Åbo Akademi.

Parsons, D. 1969. *Funny amusing and funny amazing*. London: Pan Books.

Pesonen, H. 1984. Miten ymmärrämme vieraita kulttuureja ja miten omaamme, *Suomen antropologi* 9/1, 2-9.

Riley, P. 1989. Requirements for the study of intercultural variation in learning styles, in R. Duda and P. Riley (eds.), *Learning styles*, Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 43-54.

Thomas, J. 1983. Cross-cultural pragmatic failure, *Applied Linguistics* 4, 91-112.

Thomas, J. 1984. Cross-cultural discourse as 'unequal encounter': towards a pragmatic analysis, *Applied Linguistics* 5, 226-235.

Viljanen-Saira, A. 1986. Me, he ja kulttuurien kohtaaminen, *Suomen Antropologi* 11/1, 25-27.

LINGUISTICS AND THE TRANSNATIONALISATION OF LITERATURE

Sirpa Leppänen
University of Jyväskylä

The present article is a discussion of the main points of a workshop in the Seminar on Cross-cultural Communication. It argues that new kinds of transnational literatures - ie. literatures that are no longer linguistically and/or culturally rooted in national categories only - are rapidly multiplying in the changing cultural geography of the world, and that for linguists this can offer new sources of interesting data, new insights into the operation of language across cultural boundaries, and new challenges of developing models with which to examine cross-cultural literary languages.

At the moment there is a lively debate going on in the pages of *Helsingin Sanomat* about the role of Swedish in Finnish society, and about the motivation to teach Swedish to all Finnish school children. This is an old debate re-ignited again, and it raises familiar questions about the position and nature of Finnish national culture as opposed to the Other, be it Swedish, American, or European. One reader describes the present linguistic situation in Finland in his letter (*HeSa* 20.9.1990) as follows:

> To my mind the most important thing in the present situation is not the status of Swedish in Finland, but the status of the Finnish language and culture in the world. With this speed we will soon have nothing to defend, considering the fast speed with which American culture, in the form of the English language, is now penetrating our lives. ... Dear people. Do not let English invade your minds! (transl.)

The writer paints a picture of an alien linguistic influence, which, like a modern vulgar Tempter, invades first Finnish culture, then people's everyday lives, and eventually their minds with worthless linguistic bric-a-brac, which is somehow equated with American culture. It is interesting that he uses the words *penetrate* ('tunkeutua') and *invade* ('valloittaa'), when referring to the influence of American culture, against which the Finnish culture has to defend itself. Or herself, rather, for these sexual and violent allusions are quite obvious. Here is,

once again, the "Maiden Finland" gripping the Finnish constitution (or, in this case, Finnish national culture) in the storm, protecting it from the evil attacks of foreign influence. The myth of the Other as the Invader is still alive and well.

These kinds of fears are in no way typical of only the Finnish climate, though. All over Europe, the same worries abound. The European Single Market, the English speaking satellite broadcasting, the Americanisation of popular culture, all these seem to have shaken the basis of European national identities, calling forth both pessimism and fears. In an interesting article in the *Screen* magazine Morley and Robins (1990:12) discuss the processes through which cultural identities are produced and consumed in what they refer to as the postmodern European geography, where new transnational communication spheres, markets and communities have been, and will increasingly be created. They point out that "it is broadly felt that these new technologies - satellite broadcasting, for instance - have disturbing and damaging implications for established national (and indeed continental) identities". They call this the "Fortress Europe" mentality, which basically is a reactionary attempt to sustain and defend a sense of European identity against American linguistic and cultural infiltration.

The Finnish national myth of "Maiden Finland" thus seems to have its European counterparts, and all of them, including the coming European one, are prepared to defend themselves against the effects of "cocacolonisation".

So, on the one hand, protectionist and nationalistic reactions against transnational and/or American cultural imperialism have arisen; on the other hand, the changing cultural geography of Europe also means, of course, a certain widening of perspectives, and of a lowering of cultural barriers. And this, to my mind, is becoming apparent, not only in Finnish popular culture, as noted in the reader's letter above, but also in literature and art.

Take the Kaurismäki brothers, for example. Their films are no longer strictly speaking "Finnish", their settings, characters, topics, and, most interestingly, their language is not Finnish (only). These young film makers now operate on a more European, even global arena, and their film texts are transnational both in terms of their linguistic and cultural characteristics. Or, take Rosa Liksom, who writes in Finnish, but varies her dialects, sociolects and registers, her settings (Lapland, Helsinki, Moscow, Berlin...), characters and themes in a way

which is clearly in a sharp contrast with Finnish mainstream literature. Also her texts cross national boundaries of culture, as well as intra-national boundaries of what are sometimes referred to as sub-cultures.

At the same time, traditional Finnish literature, the realistic, epic tradition, in particular, has come to a standstill: the familiar, almost institutionalized forms of telling stories are repeated, with not many signs of reaching over the boundaries of Finnish (and mostly agrarian) culture. Both in terms of new literary forms and contents our epic literature is thus still very much hermetically Finnish. Much to our fortune, this is not the whole picture: outside the dignified epic tradition new windows are being opened, and fresh air is beginning to be let into the musty rooms of our literature.

New types of literary texts represent new challenges for researchers of culture, literature and language. For linguists, the rise of literary texts no longer rooted in national cultures only opens up rich new sources of data, and new camera angles to examine this data. Linguistically, these types of texts are very often heteroglossic in nature; in other words, they are mixtures of various ingredients, of different languages, dialects, sociolects, registers and styles. In this sense they could also be seen as post-modern texts, texts that decenter the old institutionalised languages and worlds of literature, and suggest new, previously marginalised ones.

For illustration, recently I heard a perfect example of such a transnational and post-modern text on the radio: this was an episode of the Finnish *Kalevala*, reinterpreted and presented as an episode of *Dallas*. The Dallas effect was achieved by prefacing the drama with the well-known Dallas melody, and by presenting the old Väinämöinens, Lemminkäinens and all the rest as plotting and busying themselves with complicated and mischievous plans, businesses and conspiracies very much in the way the famous Ewings are portrayed in their own mythical world of oil and money. The story was mostly in Finnish, containing bits and pieces of *Kalevala*, mixed with modern Finnish; it also included some English, such as American-TV-series-like slogans "The story of *Kalevala*" and comments, "just like in Dallas". It was certainly funny, and also very interesting as a text which tried to create an ironic and humorous frame around the national monument of *Kalevala*.

It may even be, as Mary Louise Pratt (1987) has pointed out, that the emergence of such transnational literary texts involves a shift in the definition of linguistics. She suggests that what this calls for is a linguistics of contact, as opposed to the mainstream tradition of linguistics of community. By her term linguistics of contact Pratt (1987:60) refers to a linguistics which places "at its centre the operation of language across lines of social differentiation", a linguistics that focuses "on modes and zones of contact between dominant and dominated groups, between persons of different and multiple identities, speakers of different languages", that focuses on "how such speakers constitute each other relationally and in difference, how they enact differences in language". Such a linguistics would no longer attempt to describe and analyse linguistic communities, which, Pratt argues (1987:57), are traditionally seen as homogeneous and self-contained wholes and not in their relations and interactions with each other. In Pratt's view (1987:59) it is indeed symptomatic in linguistics of community to postulate social subgroups existing separately, but not the relationality of social differentiation.

In the changing world, this seems certainly very promising as an approach towards language, and towards languages of literature. For, how can you examine languages of contact, or culturally/linguistically polyphonic literary texts, with a model which assumes the existence of a norm, or a code, which is, or should be, shared by everyone? What happens if speakers or texts have different norms, use different languages and imply different cultural backgrounds? It seems reasonable to argue that then, in such interactions and/or literary texts, you need a model which takes into account their multiple and complex linguistic and cultural dimensions.

This could be a challenge to linguists and literary critics in another way, too - as is again pointed out by Pratt (1987:63) - for they have to be trained in the reception of texts not anchored in national categories. In my opinion, this means that it is time for researchers interested in the quickly multiplying number of transnational literary texts, to step out of their own narrow disciplinary pidgeon holes, and start looking for new connections between fields of research previously kept apart. In other words,the analysis of transnational - or "cross-cultural", in the sense Kachru (1987:87), for example, refers to them - literary texts requires an interdisciplinary approach, an approach which turns to pragmatics, cross-cultural studies, discourse analysis, sociolinguistics,

ethnography, cultural studies, comparative literature and history, at least, to fill in the gaps the linguistics of community, with which all we are familiar with, is unable to fill.[1]

In my view, it is only through a recognition that the linguistic and cultural map of the world is now in a constant flux and that we as linguists should start looking for new non-prescriptive approaches to describe everyday and literary languages in the process of transnationalisation, that we can bring linguistics into the 21st century. For example, in the case of the flow of Americanisms into Finland this means that we might want to ask, instead of moralistically and fearfully condemning them as bad, and of sticking to the established norms and values of our linguistic and cultural community, why there is a need for Americanisms, what they communicate to us as Finns, and what we communicate to each other and to the rest of the world by using them? We might want to look, in other words, how we, instead of being invaded by American language and culture, interact with them, in speech as well as in writing, and what implications rise from this interaction. In this way, we could see Finnish culture, not as an object, or as the helpless virgin at the mercy of the ruthless attacks of the Invader, but as a subject, as a grown-up, who is aware of its own powers and value, but who is, at the same time, open to change, and more mature to deal with the controversies and conflicts which usually accompany major cultural changes. Only through a linguistics of contact we as linguists can keep up with the world where contact across national boundaries is becoming, paradoxically, a new norm.

[1] Something in this line has actually been started in Finland. In Åbo Akademi there is a research project of Literary Pragmatics which attempts, among other things, to examine the reception of literary texts by readers from different cultures.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kachru, Y. 1987. Cross-cultural texts, discourse strategies and discourse interpretation, in Smith, L. E. (ed.), *Discourse across cultures*, London: Prentice Hall.

Morley, D. and K. Robins 1990. Spaces of identity, in *Screen*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 10-36.

Pratt, M. L. 1987. Linguistic Utopias, in N. Fabb, D. Attridge, A. Durant and C. MacCabe (eds.), *The linguistics of writing*, Manchester: MUP.

Sell, R. (ed.) 1990. *Literary pragmatics*. London: Routledge.

PITFALLS OF CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION TRAINING: THE ART OF THE APPROPRIATE

David Marsh
University of Jyväskylä

It is in the failure to achieve integration ... that personalities too often make shipwreck, either breaking down (physically or mentally) under the strain of conflict or abandoning any real desire for an effective synthesis. (Charles E. Raven, *The Creator Spirit*)

Introduction

This article addresses certain issues emanating from the workshop 'Broadening the Mind or Reduced Personality: Skills for Increasing Cross-cultural Awareness' held at the 1990 Jyväskylä Seminar on Cross-cultural Communication. These issues relate to problems which arise when educators attempt to incorporate training in cross-cultural communication into foreign language teaching curricula.

Most of the participants in the workshop had professional interests in the teaching of languages for specific purposes. As such, the interests here lie more specifically with those educators involved in the training of Finnish native-speakers who work in various professional fields which necessitate communication with people from other cultures and speech communities.

The path which leads to the training of foreign language learners in the field of cross-cultural communication is long and winding and sometimes fraught with danger. This paper attempts to consider some of the key pitfalls facing those interested in cross-cultural communication. It also points to some of the safe ground where training can be embedded into language and communications curricula with relative ease.

Socio-cultural factors and situation

Over the past few decades, research on the role of socio-cultural background knowledge in human interaction has been approached from various disciplines, and, thus, studied from numerous angles. The comparatively recent surge of general interest in the field of sociolinguistics has also contributed to a change of orientation. Linguistics, the study of the way in which language works, had traditionally distanced itself from the way in which 'language is used'. In arguing that the systematic study and interpretation of language sometimes needs a broader framework than that offered by linguistics, Halliday comments: "Linguistics (was) the study of linguistics rather than the study of language" (Halliday 1977:19).

The considerable interest in sociolinguistics over the last few decades has now led to a broadening of the basis of language study. In terms of language and culture, it has shifted away from descriptions of speech communities and their communicative repertoires, which can often be found in anthropological, sociological and psychological approaches. Rather, it has become oriented towards the role of socio-cultural knowledge in individual language use, found, as it is, in specific speech events. This has led to a focus on the interactive process and, finally, on the interpretive procedures followed by different people in human communication.

This focus marks an important change of emphasis within linguistic research on the area because approaches towards the study of language and culture became increasingly integrated. In 1982, Gumperz noted that instead of describing what rules or cultural knowledge can potentially affect communication, we should look at how these phenomena are brought into the communicative process. Thus, the focus of research in this area would be on the interplay of both socio-cultural and linguistic knowledge in communicative situations. The crucial point here is that the social environment is no longer to be seen as static and governed by set systems of rules and norms but is seen as dynamic and subject to constant change.

National stereotypes

The social environment, henceforth called the situation, is the bedrock of most enquiry into facets of cross-cultural communication. If we accept the premise that a reserved and taciturn person found in one situation may become an extrovert and prolific talker in another, then we should be extremely cautious about falling into one notable pitfall in this area, namely the personification of national character.

Attempts to personify national character can swiftly lead to the development of national stereotype. This is seen to act in two fundamental ways in human communication. Firstly, it can facilitate a person's perception of how s/he might expect to understand people who are not from his/her own background. Secondly, it may provide a person with a stereotyped self-image, cast under the guise of national identity, which s/he actively projects during cross-cultural encounters.

These two basic examples of how national stereotyping is used in human communication are of great significance in any discussion on training in cross-cultural communication. Thus, they deserve some exemplification.

Interpretation of others through national stereotype

In order to reinforce notions of a national stereotype, one may attempt to 'quasi-personify' a national character and provide it with certain specifiable types of behaviour. Thus, the stereotype becomes somehow legitimised and more accessible an image for people in general.

This is done on many levels in contemporary Western societies. The mass media is a particularly powerful agent in this respect. Advertising, type-casting and news portrayal may all focus on specific types of behaviour and communication, which are used to build and reinforce the image of the national stereotype. Words themselves may evolve in such a way as to be associated with carrying some vestige of national character. Take for example the Arabic word *Tabaghdada* ('to behave like one from Baghdad') meaning 'to swagger', or 'to throw one's weight around'. Is this the result of past Arab

experience with Iraqi (or Baghdad) national character, does it reflect a pan-Arab historical perspective towards Iraqi social and economic history, or is there an alternative explanation?

Is it stereotyping which enables the English language to acquire *bolshy* (from Bolshevik) meaning someone who behaves in a bad-tempered or difficult and rebellious way? Another example which is no longer found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is its previous definition of *Malay* as synonymous with 'lazy'.

Stereotyping also operates at government level. The British Prime Minister recently formalised the process of national stereotyping. In July 1990 various experts from education, industry and government were invited to a seminar on German re-unification. The 'Chequers Summit' reportedly embarked on seeking an answer to the question of describing the national character of the Germans. A seminar report, subsequently leaked to the British press, revealed that the German persona was characterised by *angst*, *aggression* and *arrogance*.

In response to this report, a national British newspaper (*Sunday Times*) invited a group of eminent Germans to provide a critique of the British national character. The discussion resulted in the words *decent*, *tenacious*, *fun* and *fair* being attributed to the British.

Attempts like these to outline national character are fundamentally flawed. Essentially, we can argue that national character does indeed exist in the minds of some people. However, its usefulness in cross-cultural communication training may be questioned because of its over-simplified grouping together of personality and culture. The question of where personality begins and culture ends, or alternatively, where culture ends and personality begins, must be faced when training in this area.

Characteristics of human behaviour as qualities found to be typical of a particular person or situation may not be usefully extended to describe the behaviour of those who originate from one nation-state or another. For every stereotype found in a nation-state there will be an iconoclast. If we characterize something we give it qualities by which it can be easily recognised. Shared environmental conditions, cultural traditions and institutions provide intrinsic

qualities which are altogether different to personified qualities such as the above-quoted aggression and decency.

The usefulness of pursuing national character may therefore be a somewhat futile exercise. When it occurs, it often leads to a 'Seek and ye shall find' self-fulfilling prophecy. In cross-cultural encounters communicative behaviour may be orientated towards locating those signs which can be interpreted as supporting the stereotype. When we stereotype a person, we form a fixed image of them which leads to expectations that they will behave in a certain way which encourages an equally rigid interpretation of their patterns of communication.

To attempt to teach cross-cultural communication through reference to national stereotypes is thus Catch-22. Even with the very best of intentions, attempts to broaden cultural horizons through discussing national stereotypes is likely to be self-defeating, for it inevitably leads to a myopic and blinkered view of other nationals. Yet, when we examine some textbooks and curricula, this is precisely what has happened.

Portraying self as national stereotype

Another way, in which national stereotyping functions, is to provide an identifiable image which is projected by a person in cross-cultural interaction. Here the subject projects what s/he considers to be his/her own national stereotype and then seeks to fulfil it. So, for example, a person may engage in a form of role play, for a variety of reasons, which projects a national image. However the extent to which this second function is generalisable across cultures is problematic.

Finnish national stereotype

If we accept that in cross-cultural interaction the Finn him/herself may lean towards projecting a negative autostereotype (Lehtonen 1990), then we should consider the other side of the coin, namely, what, if any, is the national stereotype associated with Finnish men and women?

In responding to this question, it is perhaps relevant to ask a counter-question: "Is there a national stereotype of the Finn?" which can be said to be held in other speech communities.

In attempting to answer this we can return to Lehtonen (1990), who notes "The idea that people all over the world (have) some specific image of the Finns is a narcissitic one: In reality most foreigners know very little about Finland and have even fewer stereotypical expectations about the Finn's special characteristics".

Donner (1989) observes: "A recurring problem in small countries, including Finland, relates to whether they have a good or a bad reputation in the surrounding world. That a country might have no reputation at all, good or bad, in some parts of the globe or is almost completely unknown ... is something that rarely seems to occur to those who talk about the matter."

Both Lehtonen and Donner suggest that the outsider's view of the Finn is likely to be largely unformed. Thus, we may consider that in cross-cultural encounters, the Finnish image is tabula rasa, largely free of pre-conceived notions. This offers the teacher of intercultural behaviour in Finland an unusual and special set of circumstances.

Crucially, the notion of Finnish tabula rasa should encourage a shift away from discussing so-called Finnish behaviour, because its usefulness in the interpretation of cross-cultural communication, in relation to outsiders views of Finns, appears to be limited. In other words, there is little point in painting a possibly fictious national stereotype of a Finn, if (a) national stereotypes are compilations of cliches and, (b) there does not appear to be a widespread stereotype of the Finn in Europe or beyond.

To dwell on the subject of 'Me suomalaiset' (We Finns) in cross-cultural training would consequently appear to be of little value. In itself,however, this statement raises the question "What is of value in cross-cultural communication training?"

Cross-cultural training goals in Finland

In preface to this section, it is perhaps useful to turn attention back to a long-standing problem in education, namely, prescriptivism vErsus descriptivism. This debate offers another pitfall. Fellow trainers and language learners are sometimes equally affected by it. Thus, it merits some attention.

Teaching rules of politeness

It is sometimes assumed that there are fixed rules of language use which should be known about when using a foreign language in cross-cultural encounters. This is frequently an erroneous view. Politeness phenomena, for example, are not something that can be readily criteria-based. There are general features which affect how something is communicated at a given point in time, such as power, social distance, sex, the strength of an imposition, etc. However, any attempt to teach rules of behaviour as criteria assumes a prescriptive approach and is highly problematic unless one has a clear view of the situation for which such teaching is aimed.

But, as indicated above, the use of the word *situation* here automatically assumes the inclusion of a host of social variables. Many of these cannot even be predicted prior to experiencing a given communicative situation.

"Whose norms do we follow?"

Work on cross-cultural communication inevitably leads to questions of power and ideology. A prescriptive approach also raises the question of "Whose rules do we follow?" when using a foreign language. Does the teacher of the English language attempt to impose Anglo Saxon standards on the Finnish language learner or the teacher of German, rules emanating from Bavaria? Clearly not, for the language learner is not being taught cross-cultural communication in order that s/he slips into an English 'persona' when he uses the language to communicate with foreigners, be they native or non-native speakers of English. The main argument against such a proposition is indicated above, when we argue that the English persona *per se* rarely exists.

In addition, there is the problem of assuming that attempting to communicate with a native-speaker of a foreign language according to his/her socio-cultural conventions somehow involves showing deference. The key issue here may relate to our understanding of the word *deference*. Any attempt to consciously attempt to cooperate in communication with others, whether by largely adapting to their rules of communication or creating an amalgam of different cultural norms, shows deference, that is, respect. What needs to be borne in mind in this respect is that such display of deference should not be viewed as a one-way process, eg. that when a Finn uses English with an English-speaking native-speaker s/he has to adapt to an 'English' way of communicating.

The problem relates to perceiving acts of deference as an acknowledgement of inferiority of status. The reasons why such an attitude has been seen by trainers in this field is probably due to a misunderstanding of the concept of deference in addition to low self-image in respect to other selected cultures (see Lehtonen 1990).

Deference is one means of showing politeness and thus is shown in encounters where participants exhibit a desire to cooperate to some extent. It is a matter of showing respect and regard for someone else's opinions and wishes and functions in many ways and should not be seen as equated with 'submitting to a foreign culture'. As far as English is concerned, we have to acknowledge that as an international language it belongs to each person who uses it, be they one of the estimated 300 million native-speakers or 400 million non-native speakers said to use it regularly as a means of communication.

A suitable answer to the question posed above is: each individual language learner chooses which norms, and adaptations of norms, s/he wishes at a given time and place. There is a variety of norms which exist and when you learn a language like English we cannot assume that there exists one set of norms which can be learnt and followed. If a person wishes to be perceived as being a certain type of person in a particular situation, then interpersonal skills are required. Across cultural boundaries these skills include cross-cultural awareness. If the language learner is in cross-cultural encounters which take place in a foreign language, then the learner's existing interpersonal skills and a degree of cross-cultural awareness must be supplemented with the ability to use foreign language conversational tools. Examples of these are gambits and

other forms of strategic language use (see House & Edmondson 1981) Thus we have the raison d'etre of cross-cultural communication.

Language as power

One goal in cross-cultural training is to broaden the ability of the language learner to adapt to the communicative demands of situations of varying interpersonal complexity as s/he wishes. Such situations include communication which is predominantly oriented towards transfer of information, because, to different degrees, all such communication is embedded in the need to develop and maintain social relationships. Thus we can say that there is no such thing as purely interactional talk. For example, some people have been said to hold the view that smalltalk (that is, talk about unimportant matters) is "rubbish-talk" which, thus, implies that it is of little value. Such a view denies the use of smalltalk as a conversational tool which may be of great significance in interpersonal communication, even that which is oriented towards the transfer of information (see, for instance, Schneider 1988). Friedlaender (1922) succinctly sums this point up: "All of us affect to despise it, and all of us (except a few intolerable burdens on society who refuse to say anything unless they have something to say) use it."

Conversational tools such as smalltalk and gambits give the language learner more power in cross-cultural communication and provide the means for greater adaptability to the demands of situations involving human communication. For instance, a person who finds himself in an unequal power situation may wish to have the tools at hand to re-negotiate the power roles that he finds there. A non-native speaker of a language may have considerable difficulty in achieving such negotiation without adequate conversational means.

Power relations are an integral part of much human interaction. The ability to adapt can be viewed as one type of power. One problem with speaking a foreign language is that a person may consider that they occupy the middle ground in certain types of interaction (notably with native-speakers) and thus become a type of reduced personality when using it for communication (see Harder 1980). The ability to handle conversational tools, an aim of cross-cultural

training, helps the language learner avoid such inadequacy. In Finland, such training also bears relevance to questions of self-confidence.

Confidence

Communicative effectiveness across cultures is not solely a matter of knowing the rudiments of a language, but includes using it appropriately. It is concern about appropriacy which may be one factor which adversely affects Finnish language learners' confidence in using a foreign language (see Lehtonen 1990; Daun, Mattlar & Alanen 1989). Training in cross-cultural communication inevitably focuses on the language learner's perception of self. The question raised previously of where personality begins and culture ends is highly problematic when we examine communicative performance. In teaching this area, we have a responsibility towards the language learner as an individual, not as a member of a class, or as a Finn. It is assumed that by providing tools for enhancing communicative effectiveness and raising the language learner's consciousness towards communication, we may boost levels of self-confidence. To reinforce the reasons for holding this assumption we can turn to evidence (see, for instance, Thomas 1983) that whereas grammatical errors may reveal the speaker to be less than proficient as a foreign language user, pragmatic errors (eg. mishandling rules of appropriacy) reflects on him/her as a person.

Miller and Grant (1978) report on research which examines how the general prediction that a future event is likely to be negative increases stress and anxiety. In terms of using a foreign language when feeling uncomfortable about one's ability to use it - a common problem cited by Finnish native-speakers learning foreign languages - one might usefully consider reduced levels of confidence as creating what Seelye (1978) refers to as 'cultural fatigue'. In other words, the language learner, because of a history of reduced confidence, resigns him/herself to a negative perception of his/her ability to use a foreign language like English.

The concept of cultural fatigue may be relevant to questions of teaching cross-cultural communication in Finland. It can be seen in the use of avoidance strategies reportedly used by some Finnish native-speakers, when they face situations, in which they are expected to use a foreign language. If this problem

exists as widely as may be the case, training in the use of conversational tools such as gambits may have a profound affect on giving the language learner courage to neither 'fight' nor 'flee' (after Konrad Lorenz) but engage in a form of 'benign reappraisal' (see Zimbardo & Ruch 1977). This would enable a more positive approach to whatever the problem is (an example recently cited in a personal communication is the delay a Finnish company continuously experiences over responding to communication by telefax in a foreign language. This was viewed as occurring because such responses require not merely information or expertise, which may be readily available, but crucially uncertainty of how to communicate appropriately in the foreign language). Reduction of cultural fatigue leads to increasing levels of individual mastery over events, which, in the case of lack of confidence, involves individual change.

Cross-cultural communication training

It appears that a particularly significant problem in the field of cross-cultural communication is establishing methods with which to conduct training. Throughout this brief article the word 'teaching' has been deliberately avoided and 'training' used in its place. This is because the notion of actually 'teaching' cross-cultural communication, as in giving instructions, is problematic because of various pitfalls that exist in this respect. Training helps focus attention towards learning skills and thus offers a more appropriate starting point when we consider that so much of this field is oriented towards the individual, his/her needs at a given time and place.

Teaching in this field sometimes involves transferring facts about other cultures, which may be little more than anecdotal and stereotyped comments of little value which encourage national stereotyping. These may be on the level of describing Arabs as burping to show pleasure after having eaten, the Japanese as having the most polite language in the World or young Finnish men and women being characterised by their intelligent-looking eyes (Milton 1920).

There appears to be little consensus on the optimum type of teaching materials, methodology and criteria for evaluation in this field. This is not particularly surprising as the type of materials that can be used need to be closely geared to the type of students involved in training. Cross-cultural communication is

closely linked to accelerating the process of understanding the significance of cultural differences. As yet, it does not fall neatly into any particular level of language learning proficiency.

It appears to be the case that the study of cross-cultural communication fits into advanced-level foreign language training. But rather than grafting cross-cultural communication onto courses at an advanced level, it may be preferable to incorporate it into all levels of a communicative syllabus (see, for example, Thomas (1983) on the subject of 'pragmatic fossilization'). However, one basic aspect of this training is that it is useful, some might think even necessary, that the learners (and the trainer) have a shared acceptance of the significance of cultural phenomena in certain types of communication.

Teaching materials in this area are readily available in other countries, particularly the USA and UK. However, the usefulness of such materials may sometimes be questionable. One common problem is taking materials designed for ESL immigrants into the UK or USA and trying to use them in EFL situations. Another is the attitude which permeates certain publications, that cultural communicative style is evolutionary in nature and that certain styles are more advanced than others. The methods such materials espouse may, however, be extremely useful for designing training programmes. But as discussed above, a major focus on training in this area is towards individual change. This means that whereas methodology may be imported, input should be specific to the Finnish (and/or Finland-Swedish) speech community.

Training a language learner in cross-cultural communication may usefully be focussed towards achieving 'cultural congruity' through looking at both cross-cultural enhancement (where things go particularly well) in addition to cross-cultural breakdown (usefully thought of as miscommunication). One problem has been that a trainer may focus too much on breakdown which can lead to a negative atmosphere and resulting in language leaners focusssing too heavily on avoiding cultural faux pas.

If training is to move the individual towards cultural versatility then such training must, to some extent, be tailor-made. One method for doing this is to adopt a self-reflection approach at the outset of a training programme (see Marsh & Räsänen 1990). Essentially, this draws on social learning theory and its

aims include awareness training of positive and negative perceptions of self and others with respect to cross-cultural interaction. In this respect the language learner him/herself determines possible strengths and weaknesses in his psychocultural attitudes.

Cross-cultural training necessitates a certain degree of probing a language learner's identity. Hence, in the course of training the learner may become vulnerable to some extent. This vulnerability means that there is an emotional dimension to such training which may be difficult to avoid. In order to harness this constructively, a self-reflection approach appears to be quite successful.

Conclusion

In the training of cross-cultural communication we face a range of complex problems and challenges. To refer back to Konrad Lorenz, we could indeed fight the idea of incorporating the area into language training or simply ignore its existence.

But as Finland undergoes a rapid programme of internationalization, it is evident that when using a foreign language Finnish professionals must, to as great a degree as possible, be able to negotiate power roles in cross-cultural encounters. This means that they must have the ability to take, keep and yield power when they communicate in a foreign language. One key feature of this ability lies in strategic language use.

It may be found that there are many examples of people who are, to a large extent, multicultural. That is, who are able to readily adapt both socially and psychologically across cultures. These are the people who need cross-cultural training less than those who know the rudiments of the language but are unsure about how to use them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Daun, A., C.-E. Mattlar & E. Alanen 1989. Personality traits characteristics for Finns and Swedes, *Ethnologia Scandinavica* 19, 30-50.

Donner, J. 1989. Bad reputation, *Blue Wings*, Helsinki: Finnair.

Edmondson, W. & J. House 1981. *Let's talk and talk about it*. Munich - Vienna - Baltimore: Urban & Schwarzenberg.

Friedlaender, V. 1922. *Pied Piper's Street and other essays*. London: Arrowsmith.

Gumperz, J. 1982. *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: CUP.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1977. *Aims and perspectives in linguistics occasional papers 1*, Applied Linguistics Association of Australia. Sydney: University of Sydney.

Harder, P. 1980. Discourse as self-expression on the reduced personality of the second language learner. *Applied Linguistics*, 1.

Lehtonen, J. 1990. The role of national stereotypes in intercultural communication. Paper presented at 12th International Colloquium on Communication, University of Lausanne, Switzerland (forthcoming).

Marsh, D. & A. Räsänen 1990. *Analysis of self as a foreign language communicator* (unpublished). Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, Continuing Education Centre.

Miller, S. & R. Grant 1978. The blunting hypothesis: a theory of predictability and human stress, in S. Bates, W. S. Dockens, K. G. Gottestan, C. Melin and S. Sjoden (eds.), *Trends in behavior therapy*, New York: Academic Press.

Milton, H. A. 1920. Finland: the homeland of a free & progressive people, *Encyclopedia of the human race*, London.

Schneider, K. 1988. *Smalltalk: analysing phatic discourse*. Marburg: Hitzeroth.

Seelye, H. N. 1978. *Teaching culture: strategies for foreign language educators*. National Textbook Co. in conjunction with ACTFL.

Sunday Times. 22 July 1990. London.

Thomas, J. 1983. Cross-cultural pragmatic failure, *Applied Linguistics* 4, 91-112.

Zimbardo, P. & R. Ruch 1977. *Psychology and life*. Glenview: Foresman.

SPOKEN DISCOURSE OF FINNISH SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

Armi Aaltonen, Laura-Maria Hakokõngäs, Pekka Isomursu,
Heli Kaarre, Riitta Kataja and Tuija Rapakko
University of Oulu

Introduction

The present report is based on three M.A. theses written as part of a study project at the English Department, University of Oulu. The project was conducted in cooperation with three companies in the Oulu district, under the supervision of Professor Heikki Nyyssönen in 1988-89.

The first study aimed at examining linguistic strategies realized in business negotiations. This was done by applying Lampi's (1986) and Johnston's (1981) models of analysis to a corpus consisting of six recordings of simulated business negotiations between eight Rautaruukki engineers and a native speaker of English.

Another study consisted of an analysis of telephone conversations between a group of Nokia Cellular Systems employees and a native speaker of English. These were studied in terms of conversation management and gambits with reference to turns, topic transitions, and mitigation. The analysis was based on the gambit classification of Edmondson & House (1981).

The third study focused on various areas of social competence: activity, idiomaticity, orientation and politeness. The data consisted of informal conversations between Veitsiluoto Oy marketing engineers and researchers and a native speaker of English. The models applied in the study of activity were taken from Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Stenström (1984) and Holmen (1985). The remaining aspects were based on Cowie (1988), Brown (1977), Brown & Levinson (1987) and Scollon & Scollon (1983).

Aims

The study of business negotiations was focused on negotiation strategies, and specifically, their linguistic manifestations on the level of acts and conversational moves. The strategies in the negotiations were divided into cooperative, competitive or submissive strategies. The hypothesis for the study was that negotiators normally aim at a cooperative negotiation strategy.

The telephone conversations were analysed as regards conversation management and gambits with reference to turns, topic transitions, and mitigation. The calls were categorised into openings, small talk sections, subject matter sections and closings. The use of various gambits was studied as fas as their operational use. The subjects were placed on a scale of proficiency levels according to their use of various gambits.

The informal conversations were examined in four different areas of social interaction: activity, orientation, idiomaticity and politeness. In order to study the degree of activity of each speaker the exchange structure of each conversation was analysed. The non-natives were also examined for the non-idiomatic features and the use of orientation in their speech. The politeness phenomena were studied as regards the quality and distribution of various politeness strategies.

Methods

The model of negotiation strategy analysis was based on Johnston's (1981) division of negotiation strategies into three groups: competitive, cooperative and submissive strategies. The macrostructural level of study followed Lampi (1986), who divides negotiations into three phases: a chat, a discussion and a bargaining phase.

In the study of telephone conversations the interest lay in conversation management, leading the conversation to a potential goal. The categorisation as regards initiating a conversation, alternating turns, changing topics, closing a topic and closing a conversation was performed according to Sacks, Schegloff

and Jefferson (1974). The model for the organisation of turns was taken from Poyatos (1980) and the gambit classification from Edmondson & House (1981).

The degree of activity of each speaker in the informal conversations was arrested on the basis of the model proposed by Holmen (1985). The exchange structure of each conversation was analyzed on the model of Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) and Stenström (1984). The theoretical background for the study of non-idiomatic features in the data was based on Cowie (1988) and the study of orientation was on Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) and Brown (1977). The analysis of the politeness strategies followed the frameworks outlined in Brown & Levinson (1987) and Scollon & Scollon (1983).

Material

The negotiation strategy study concerned nine male subjects, a native speaker of English and eight Finnish Rautaruukki engineers, ranging from design engineers to engineers in sales and purchase duties. The simulated situation was a business negotiation.

The telephone conversations included 16 employees from Nokia Cellular Systems and a non-native speaker of English. This set-up was selected as it was regarded as a very demanding one by the engineers involved.

In the third study the ten Finnish subjects were Veitsiluoto Oy employees. Seven of these non-native speakers of English were male and three of them female. Half of them worked as engineers in marketing duties and the other half as researchers. The conversations were simulated task-oriented discussions.

Results of the three studies

1. Business negotiations

The study of the negotiations showed that the Finnish subjects were unaware of the importance of chat in the English-speaking culture, since the chat phases were short and few. The general difficulty posed by such social conversation in

a foreign language is a contributing factor. Also, the Finns were rather passive in participating in the conversation, which was reflected by their frequent use of *acknowledge* instead of a more emphatic and "involved" response. The lack of *mitigation* and *emphasis* on the part of the non-natives made them sound unnecessarily and in many cases unintentionally impolite and evasive. The failure of the Finns to cooperate sometimes led to the use of more aggressive-seeming strategies, such as *threat, demand, attack* and *commitment* both by the native and the non-native speakers, which in turn could cause trouble in the flow of communication. The Finns also found it difficult to use *self* and *other supports*. See also Figure 1.

2. Telephone dialogues

In the telephone dialogues there were shortcomings in the Finnish subjects' operational language use, ie. in their ability to manipulate the flow of the conversation towards a goal while the interaction was in progress. They tended to act as secondary participants in the conversation providing a minimum amount of information. This was supported by the dominance of hearer-supportive gambits and by the fact that most of the initiations for the topic changes were made by the native speaker. The almost total absence of speaker-oriented, message-oriented or turnkeeping gambits in an idiomatic format was also indicative of insufficient operational language use. The general overuse of hesitation indicators can perhaps be regarded as a sign of limited active vocabulary and inability to control the turn distribution in a conversation.

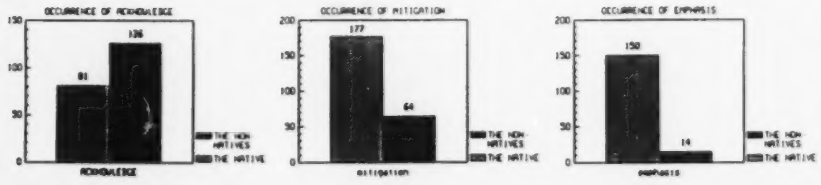

Figure 1. Results of the study of negotiations and telephone dialogues.

The opening and closing phases caused problems for many of the non-natives. The openings tended to be too direct as the Finnish speakers did not voluntarily introduce any small talk. Several instances of lacking mitigation as well as pragmatic failure were identified, but these did not prevent the conversation from proceeding in most cases.

3. Informal conversations

In the study of the informal conversations the relative activity and initiative of the Finnish participants appeared low. All too often the native speaker was left "in charge" of making the first moves whereas the non-native speakers mainly confined themselves to producing responses which were not always of the appropriate kind. The follow-ups, or signals of feedback, often constituted a major part of the Finnish speakers' moves, ie. they preferred to participate by giving feedback, not by taking initiative.

The idiomatic use of language was studied by taking into account both contextually and semantically unidiomatic phrases. The analysis showed that the more a speaker had defects in his grammatical competence, the more errors he made in the use of semantically specified idioms.

In the study of general orientation to the conversation the Finnish speakers were assessed according to their degree of activity. In general the non-native speakers tended to produce their own formulations, instead of repeating the native speaker's "ready-made" phrases or instead of trying to adopt those phrases to suit the context. Seven out of ten subjects failed to signal a satisfying amount of convergence, giving an impression of a non-supportive participant.

The use of politeness strategies was considered an important area of social competence. In the business talk sections the subjects tended to confine themselves almost entirely to using negative politeness strategies in order to mitigate the potential threat of their utterances. Thus, they discarded the possibility to convey a friendlier and more solidary attitude by employing more positive politeness strategies. This seems to be a general trend in such situations: for a Finnish speaker in a NS-NNS context the switch of code entails a switch of 'mode'. The reasons presumably are partly cultural, partly linguistic,

the general tendency of the Finn being to solve a communication problem through the interlanguage rather than through the target language system.

See also Figure 2.

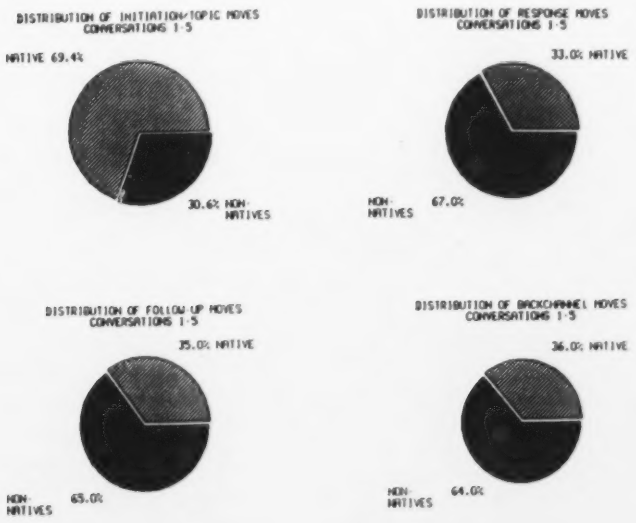

Figure 2. Results of the study of informal conversations.

REFERENCES

Kataja, Riitta and Tuija Rapakko 1989. On grammatical and social competence of Finnish speakers of English. M.A. thesis. Oulu: University of Oulu, Department of English.

Hakoköngäs, Laura-Maria and Heli Kaarre 1988. Negotiation strategies as used by Finnish speakers of English. M.A. thesis. Oulu: University of Oulu, Department of English.

Aaltonen, Armi and Pekka Isomursu 1989. Operational language use in telephone conversations. M.A. thesis. Oulu: University of Oulu, Department of English.

TEACHING CULTURAL COMPETENCE IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSROOM IN FINNISH SCHOOLS

Taru-Maija Heilala-Rasimov and Jarna Vesanen
University of Jyväskylä

Introduction

Foreign language teaching has traditionally centered primarily on teaching the "actual" language skills: grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation. However, as a language and the culture where the language is spoken are deeply embedded in each other, increasing emphasis has been attached to teaching sociocultural competence - referring to rules and norms of appropriate verbal and nonverbal behaviour in the target culture - alongside grammatical competence in the foreign language classroom. Since languages bear many cultural connotations, which can be best seen in idioms, metaphors, and speech act rules, mastery of the language necessarily implies knowledge of the culture. Successful communication across cultures cannot take place unless the interactants understand at least some of the underlying values that affect the communication situation. The diversity of the people(s) who use English as a medium for expressing their ideas has many implications for teaching cultural competence in the English language classroom: information should be provided both about target culture phenomena ('target culture' refers here mainly to British and North American cultures), and about other cultures, to enable the learners to understand and to become more tolerant toward different kinds of behavioural patterns.

Information about "elitist" culture, referring to arts, history, geography, etc., is needed so as to get the students to understand the target society better, but it must be emphasized that teaching cultural competence should not consist of teaching merely facts about target (or other) cultures but that developing the affective component - aiming at tolerance and positive curiosity toward other people - is more fruitful and further-reaching than learning a list of individual phenomena. Teaching cross-cultural competence does not mean that learners should learn how to cope in all culturally bound situations like natives; instead,

awareness of differences in communication styles in different cultures should be increased in the realization that each culture has its own values and norms that influence the everyday life.

The present study

Subjects and method

The syllabus for foreign language teaching in Finnish schools also emphasizes the importance of cultural studies as a part of successful foreign language learning. However, it does not state anything specific about how cultural instruction should proceed. The aim of this small-scale study was to investigate the situation surrounding cultural instruction in Finnish schools.

Twelve teachers of English were interviewed on their notions of the importance of cultural studies, how they go about it in practice, and what problems there are in executing cultural instruction in the classroom. The teachers, who work in lower and upper levels of a comprehensive school and in a upper secondary school in the Jyväskylä area, were randomly selected for the interview. They represent different age groups and have various teaching experiences. The method used was theme interview (see Hirsjärvi & Hurme 1982).

Results

The interviews revealed that the majority of the teachers obviously have good intentions concerning cultural instruction and are willing to include it in their teaching. In order to understand their readiness to carry out cultural instruction we examined whether, during their teacher training, the teachers had been provided with information concerning this matter, and found out that almost without exception this had been minimal. Despite the poor training in this respect, as teachers of English are naturally interested in the Anglo-American cultures, they are positively oriented toward introducing culture in the classroom. Also, according to the interviewed teachers, the students' attitudes toward cultural instruction in general are very positive. The pupils seem to be interested and motivated, as well as willing to learn more about both target and

other foreign cultures. However, carrying out cultural instruction is not that straightforward.

First of all, already the concept of culture itself bears different connotations to different teachers, which naturally has an impact on the contents of their teaching. For instance, some of the teachers seem to underestimate the importance of everyday culture and consider it somewhat inferior to elitist culture. Consequently, they leave the former and culturally-based communication strategies aside and pay attention to literature or other similar "high culture" phenomena only. Moreover, teachers often base their notion of culture on the textbook they use without further thoughts: what the textbook considers as culture is also the notion of the teacher. For example, one of the upper secondary school teachers is so dependent on the textbook concepts that she stated: "Well, I don't know if sports is culture, look at *Wings* and see if it's there." Naturally the teachers' own interests in some particular fields of culture play a considerable role in deciding what to emphasize. There also seems to be a tendency - probably due to pupils' different ages - for the lower level teachers to concentrate on everyday life more while the cultural instruction in the upper levels deals more with more advanced (= "higher") features.

Although cognitive information is quite often provided in the English lessons, the affective side of cultural instruction seems to be rather neglected. Some "funny" differences are sometimes brought up (the English children's knee socks in winter, the poor heating system in England, the excessive use of the car by North Americans, etc.), but the teaching does not go deeper into the reasons for these behaviours, nor in the target culture values and norms in general. It is unfortunate that all too often one-sided views are provided which strengthen the stereotypes the students may have.

The teachers tell their students very little about different modes of behaviour in international encounters, such as different notions of proximity, appropriate topics for discussion, or speech-act rules that are regarded proper in different countries. Neither are possible difficulties that might arise between people with different cultural backgrounds discussed in the lessons. As one of the main points in this study was to find out whether the teachers of English make their pupils understand that while people speak English in various situations, the different rules and modes of conversation in different countries can cause

misunderstandings and thus failure to communicate one's meaning effectively, the results are not too promising. The teachers obviously do not consider the matter so important that they would spend some time in teaching cross-cultural competence. It is highly probable that many English teachers never think about the matter in more detail: as this aspect of language teaching has not traditionally been emphasized, the importance of being aware of different conversational rules is not even now totally acknowledged.

The question of how cultural instruction is transmitted in actual teaching situations does not come without problems either: the interviewees seem to rely on the idea that culture is mainly presented indirectly through texts and pictures, and that special "cultural inputs" are considered only as short breaks between more "serious" work - meaning study of grammar and vocabulary. They believe that culture is taught implicitly during language lessons. Fairly little integration with other subjects takes place although it is one of the main aims in the current curricular tendencies.

As to the material for cultural instruction provided in the textbooks, the teachers seem to be rather content. Also additional authentic material which some of the teachers have collected during trips and through contacts abroad is used in appropriate situations. However, all teachers agree on the shortage of time resources.

In general it is mainly the teachers themselves who decide when and what is introduced about culture, and moreover, they almost without exception do it completely themselves, ie., the students are hardly ever given the chance to actively participate in preparing and presenting cultural material for the classroom. Interestingly enough, groupwork, which would seem to be a suitable method for cultural studies, is rarely taken advantage of. Penfriends, clubs, TV, concerts and other extra-curricular material are only occasionally used and very strongly based on individual teachers' activity and contacts.

Conclusion

An analysis of the opinions of only 12 teachers does not give any right to make generalizations concerning the teaching of cultural competence in the Finnish

educational system. This small-scale study reveals that while some cultural items, which are often rather elitist or unrelated in the nature, are provided in the English lessons, cultural competence as an underlying basis for all language teaching does not, unfortunately, seem to be sufficiently acknowledged in Finnish schools. If cultural competence is to be taught in language lessons, teachers need to be better prepared for this task: it is essential to improve teacher training and study materials; and furthermore, it must be acknowledged that cultural studies are as demanding and important as grammar and vocabulary studies.

REFERENCE

Heilala-Rasimov, Taru-Maija and Jarna Vesanen 1989. Foreign languages and cultural studies: teaching cultural competence in the English language classroom in Finnish schools. M.A. thesis. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, Department of English.

A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SPOKEN DISCOURSE OF BILINGUAL SWEDISH FINNISH AND NATIVE SWEDISH SCHOOL CHILDREN

Riitta Kataja
University of Oulu

Introduction

The aim of the present study is to contrast discourse in Finnish and Swedish dialogues by bilingual Swedish Finnish children and their monolingual Swedish peers. The Swedish Finnish migrant children have Finnish as their first language and Swedish as their second language and the monolingual children are native speakers of Swedish.

The main focus of the contrastive analysis is on the differences of the Finnish and Swedish discourse of the bilingual Swedish Finnish children. The study focuses on two specific discourse features: the use and distribution of various politeness strategies and the use of downgraders. A similar comparison is done between the Swedish discourse of the bilingual Swedish Finnish children and the native speakers of Swedish.

The study of politeness strategies is based on the models of Brown & Levinson (1978) and Scollon & Scollon (1982). The downgraders have been categorized and analysed on the basis of studies by House & Kasper (1981) and Janet Holmes (1982, 1984).

Material

The material consists of twelve dialogues in Finnish between the bilingual Finnish Swedish school children and six conversations in Swedish between them and their Swedish counterparts.

The dialogues were recorded in the Botkyrka and Upplands-Väsby schools in Stockholm in February 1987. They were task-oriented simulated conversations

where the participants were asked to solve a (potential) conflict by discussing the matter with each other. The topics were planned so that the children would not have difficulties orientating themselves to the situations. Consequently, the conversations could have taken place in reality.

The Finnish Swedish migrant children who participated in the study have lived in Sweden most of their lives. They speak Finnish with their parents and Swedish with their friends and a majority of them is considered successively bilingual. At the time of the recordings they attended the ninth grade of one of the two schools. The participants in each dialogue knew each other fairly well, so there was little distance (-D) between them and no difference in power (-P).

Methods

The data is analysed in terms of the distribution of various politeness strategies and the use of downgraders. The study of the politeness strategies is based on the theories of Brown & Levinson (1987) and Scollon & Scollon (1983). According to Brown & Levinson, we use various politeness strategies, most commonly positive, bald on-record, negative and off-record strategies to save face in a conflict situation.

Positive politeness (referred to as solidarity politeness by Scollon & Scollon) involves an intimate conversation style between friends, ie. between people with no or little distance or asymmetry in power (-P-D). Bald-on-record strategies are used when the speaker has least fear of losing face and s/he can then adopt a very direct manner of addressing the hearer. As in the case of positive politeness strategies also here the power and distance relationship is -P-D.

Negative politeness strategies and off record strategies are applicable when there is an increasing distance between the speakers and the hearer (the situation is -P+D).

Downgraders have been studied by House & Kasper (1981) and Holmes (1982, 1984). House & Kasper refer to downgraders as modality markers, which are meant to tone down the effect of an utterance. They include such categories as *hedges* (*kind of, sort of, somehow*, etc.), *understaters* (*a little bit, not very much*, etc.),

downtoners (*possibly, perhaps, rather,* etc.) and *non-committers* (*I think, I guess, I suppose,* etc.).

Results of the study of politeness strategies

The study of the use of politeness strategies reveals that there are great differences between the Finnish and Swedish discourse of the Finnish Swedish subjects. The Finnish dialogues are dominated by positive politeness strategies, the percentage being 55% of all strategies used in the data. The figure is in accordance with the symmetrical power relationship and the nonexistent distance between the participants. The situation is the same when the subjects switch to Swedish, but ten out of twelve participants use more negative strategies than they do in Finnish. In other words, when the bilingual children use Finnish they adopt more direct or solidary means of solving a problem and in Swedish they take more distance and discuss the matter with the help of a more indirect or hedged strategy. The average percentage of negative politeness strategies in the Swedish discourse is 29%, whereas the corresponding figure in the Finnish dialogues is 11%.

The highest frequency of positive politeness strategies is among the native Swedish speakers, their average percentage being 59.5%.

Figure 1. is a diagram showing the average figures of the distribution of various politeness strategies in the Finnish data.

Results of the study of downgraders

The contrastive analysis of the use of downgraders shows again that the most striking differences between the three groups are those of the Swedish Finnish children's conversations in Finnish and Swedish. The relative amount of downgraders, ie. the number of downgraders in relation to the amount of speech, is higher in the Swedish dialogues than in the Finnish ones. Nine of twelve Swedish Finnish pupils show a higher amount of downgraders in Swedish than in Finnish. The average percentages in the use of downgraders are

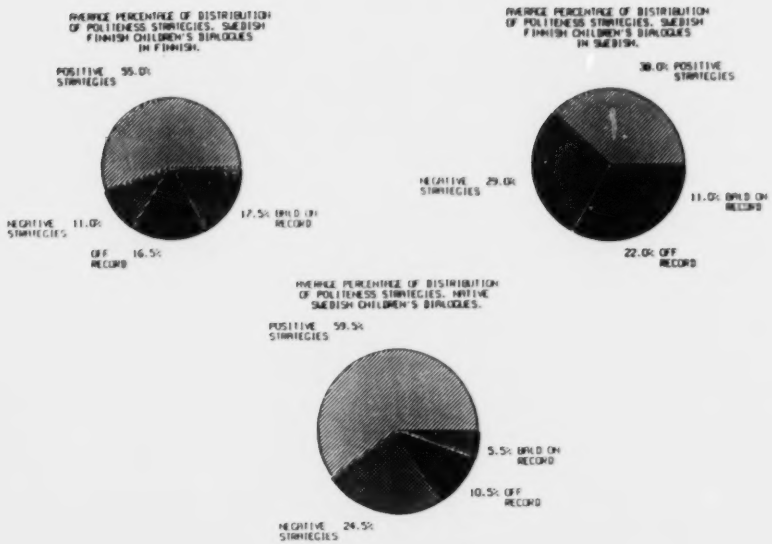
AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF POLITENESS STRATEGIES. SWEDISH FINNISH CHILDREN'S DIALOGUES IN FINNISH.
POSITIVE STRATEGIES 55.0%
NEGATIVE STRATEGIES 11.0%
17.5% BALD ON RECORD
OFF RECORD 16.5%
AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF POLITENESS STRATEGIES. SWEDISH FINNISH CHILDREN'S DIALOGUES IN SWEDISH.
38.0% POSITIVE STRATEGIES
NEGATIVE STRATEGIES 29.0%
11.0% BALD ON RECORD
22.0% OFF RECORD
AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF POLITENESS STRATEGIES. NATIVE SWEDISH CHILDREN'S DIALOGUES.
POSITIVE STRATEGIES 59.5%
5.5% BALD ON RECORD
10.5% OFF RECORD
NEGATIVE STRATEGIES 24.5%

Figure 1. A diagram showing the average figures of the distribution of various politeness strategies in the discourse of the bilingual Swedish Finnish children and the native Swedish children.

6.8% in Finnish and 9.9% in Swedish, and, respectively, 8.7% in the discourse of the native Swedish speakers.

The relative amount of downgraders produced by each speaker is shown in the diagram next page. In this diagram we can compare the figures in Finnish and Swedish. Nine out of twelve children use more downgraders in Swedish than in Finnish. The result supports Holmes' theory on the connection between negative politeness markers and downgraders. As the typical mode of expressing deference and tact towards the hearer is the use of downgraders it is not surprising that the Swedish dialogues, which include many negative politeness strategies, also show a high level of downgraders. See also Figure 2.

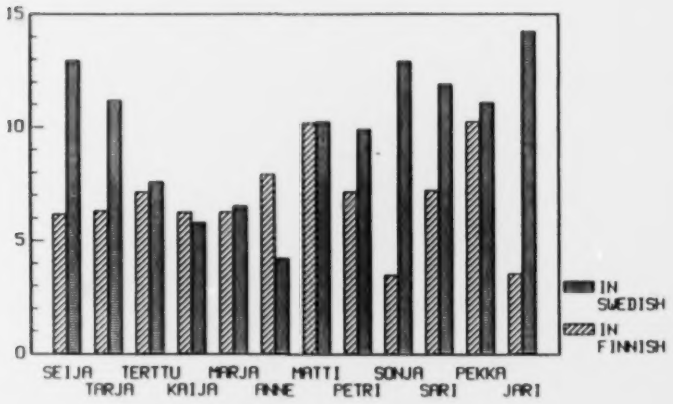

Figure 2. Relative number of downgraders in the Swedish Finnish children's discourse.

COMPREHENSION IN NS-NNS CONVERSATION

Tuija Nikko
University of Jyväskylä

Information processing theories provide strong support for the hypothesis that language merely provides a blueprint for the creation of meaning in discourse processing. This signifies that meaning does not reside in the linguistic representation but must be enriched to conform with the understander's prior world knowledge and other contextual knowledge. (See eg. Bartlett 1932; van Dijk & Kintsch 1983; Rumelhart 1980; Spiro 1980.)

Although there is agreement about discourse comprehension being an inferential process, this is only a first stepping stone towards the understanding of what is involved in language comprehension in context. Many questions remain, eg., how is the relevant world knowledge activated? what is the role of the linguistic representation in discourse processing? how does it influence the comprehension process if your or your partner's command of the linguistic code is restricted? These were among the questions that I posed in a study into interlanguage comprehension (Nikko 1991), and they are also the questions that I will discuss in this paper.

The data consisted of telephone conversations between advanced learners and native speakers of Swedish. In these, adult Finns living in Sweden were talking to Swedish officials. The data is part of the extensive material gathered and used by the Gothenburg research group in the international EALA project (see eg. Allwood et al. 1983). In four of the eight conversations, the non-native speakers called the public library to get information on how to borrow books; in the other four the same persons called the police station to ask what to do as they had lost their wallet. The conversations were authentic to the extent that the native speakers were unaware of the conversations being taped for research purposes. The comprehension process was analysed in accordance with relevance theory by Sperber and Wilson (1986). I will describe the analysis and the main results in the light of a few examples.

In the first example, K, a non-native speaker,is talking to A, an officer working at the police station. After the opening phase, the discussion continues as follows (I have tried to follow the Swedish original in the translations):

Example 1.

K1

05 K: e::h + I'm lost wallet + and:: ?how does one eh + do + does one have to report it?
(A: yes)

06 A: yes ?what/ is it a long time ago?

07 K: well it was yesterday

08 A: yesterday

09 K: I lost it + the tram

10 A: hm /.../)

My interpretation, on the basis of the listener's reactions, is that A and K have no problems in identifying each others' intentions. According to Sperber and Wilson, the comprehension process is guided by the principle of relevance. If, say, you are an officer working at a police station and somebody calls and says what K does in Turn 05, you rely, in identifying the caller's intention, in the first place, on the fact that the caller has something relevant to say. The identification of the speaker's intention, thus, depends on whether you find the utterance relevant. An utterance is relevant if it has contextual effect, which again presupposes information that can be connected to the assumptions manifest in your cognitive environment. These consist either of your world knowledge or the assumptions made previously in the discourse. In this example it is easy to infer that at least two assumptions are manifest in A's cognitive environment: 1) having lost one's wallet is a good reason to call the police; 2) a person who has lost his wallet calls the police in order to get help in finding it. Once the speaker and listener have managed to find a mutual cognitive environment, the same assumptions are manifest to them and the comprehension process is facilitated. In interpreting Turn 06, K 's initial context contains the assumption that A has identified his intention. A's question concerning the time is relevant in this context and, therefore, makes A's intention easy to infer even though the utterance is referential and contains a false start. Thus, what makes the assumption of time manifest in both A's and K's cognitive environment are similar schematic expectations. This becomes more evident if we compare this example with extracts from other conversations:

Example 2.

N2
03 N: well this is naimi virtanen hello I'd like to ask what does one do when one has lost one's wallet
04 A: yes ?when was this?
05 N: well today
06 A: ?"whereabouts"?
07 N: e::h here i in town + in the center by the center

Example 3.

T2
03 T: the question is that e::h + I've lost my wallet
04 A: yes + ?when did you do this?
05 T: it was e::h + yesterday
06 A: aha + ?in town?
07 T: ?what?
08 A: ?in town + here in town?
09 T: e::h + it was + maybe e::h on my way eh home from e::h the work

In three of the four conversations with police officers (Examples 1-3), the officer's first question concerns the time and the second the whereabouts of the loss. My interpretation is that the comprehension process is facilitated by the fact that similar schematic expectations are manifest to both participants.

In Example 4 something goes wrong:

Example 4.

J2
10 J: well ?I wonder what can one do when I have lost my wallet?
11 B: ?your wallet?
12 J: hm-m
13 B: well + ?what did you have "in" it then?
14 J: in the avenue*
15 B: ?what did you say?
16 J: I lost somewhere in the avenue
17 B: avenue yes ?but what did you have "in" the wallet?
18 J: yes yes + ih in the pocket
19 B: yes ?but what did you have "in" the wallet did you have money in the wallet + I mean
20 J:
{yes a little + not so much

* 'Aveny' is the main street in Gothenburg.

According to my interpretation, J's reactions in Turns 14, 16 and 18 show that he has misunderstood A's intention in Turn 13. B's reaction in Turn 15 demonstrates that he has not been able to construct any representation at all of J's response in Turn 14. It would appear that there are at least two reasons for the problem: First, J perceives a very vague representation of B's utterance; second, the speaker's and listener's schematic expectations differ from each other. For B, the most relevant question to pose to one who has lost his wallet obviously is whether it contained much money. J, due to his restricted linguistic competence, does not perceive B's utterance; the only word he identifies is "in", which he, guided by the reliance on the speaker saying something relevant, manages to elaborate. In his cognitive environment, the most relevant elaboration of "in" is the assumption that the officer wants to know where he has lost his wallet. Aided by this, he manages to construct a representation of A's utterance; unfortunately this is not the one intended by A. In interpreting J's intention in Turn 14, B's initial context consists of the assumption that he has posed a question concerning the contents of the lost wallet. The hypothesis manifest to B is that he will receive an answer to this question in J's next turn. J's utterance does not make manifest any assumptions that would make it a relevant reaction to B's question and, consequently, B does not comprehend J's intention.

This example confirms that successful discourse processing is neither purely inferential nor purely linguistic decoding. Over-reliance on top-down processing causes J's problems; for B a mere bottom-up representation does not result in comprehension.

But what exactly is the role of linguistic decoding in the comprehension process? Some light on this is shed by Example 5, which is from a discussion between K and a library official:

Example 5.

K1
05 K: I want to borrow some "books" ?how does that matter work?
06 A: well ?what kind of literature do you mean you wanna know if they're in?
07 K: ?what?

08 A: well you wanna know if they're in + if they are here
09 K: (takes a deep breath)
10 A: ?or + or are you going to come and borrow and you're wondering how to go about it?
11 K: yes yes /.../

After the opening phase, K says in Turn 05: "I want to borrow some "books" how does that matter work? " /Ja vill låna nåkra "böcker" hu hur 'fungerad:: de saken?" We know that K's intention is to ask how to get a library card because this is what the task stipulates. The official reacts by asking: "well what kind of literature do you mean you wanna know if they're in?". The reaction shows that A has misunderstood K's intention. K's reaction in Turn 07 also reveals that he has not comprehended A's intention at all. Again, it can be assumed that the official's comprehension process is, in the first place, guided by reliance on the relevance of the caller's utterance. According to Sperber and Wilson, reliance on relevance also implies that the listener expects the speaker to produce his utterance in such a way that his intention is easy to infer. Thus, the listener expects the speaker to emphasize the assumption which the listener is to elaborate. In this example, 'books' is an attractive cue for the listener for several reasons. It is emphasized not only prosodically but also with the indefinite 'some'. Expressions of indefinition are, according to Sperber and Wilson, good hints for the listener as to where to elaborate. It is also attractive because it is easy to elaborate. Given the official's world knowledge, asking about the availability of a certain book is a good reason to call the library and this makes it easy for him to infer K's intention. However, this is not what K had in mind. Consequently, A's utterance fails to make manifest any assumptions that would make it a relevant reaction in terms of K's intention and as a result K does not comprehend. The communication breakdown is caused by the fact that K's utterance makes overtly manifest assumptions which are irrelevant from the point of view of his intention.

In conclusion, even if a mutual cognitive environment facilitates comprehension, as was shown by Examples 1 to 3, the inferential comprehension processes in transactional communication have to be preceded by linguistic decoding. This was illustrated by Examples 4 and 5. According to relevance theory, the listener does not, however, construct a representation of the whole linguistic expression. Guided by the principle of relevance, he expects the speaker to show him where to "attack". This means that instead of elaborating all the possible assumptions

made manifest by the linguistic utterance, he only elaborates the most manifest ones. The interaction between linguistic decoding and the inferential processes is one of the most problematic issues in discourse processing. The hypothesis suggested by relevance theory that the context is not given, but chosen by the person engaged in comprehension, is a big step towards a more explicit theory of discourse processing.

On the whole, communication proceeds smoothly in the conversations studied. This has to do with the fact that the communication situation is of a kind that promotes the creation of a mutual cognitive environment. On some occasions, the listener, native or non-native, fails to perceive enough cues from the linguistic expression, due either to the speaker's or the listener's restricted linguistic competence. Yet, relying on the speaker being relevant and assisted by schematic expectations, he often manages to interpret the intention in spite of the difficulties. Sometimes the listener's schematic expectations differ, however, from those of the speaker and this leads to comprehension problems. There appears to be a difference between natives and non-natives as regards linguistic decoding. Native speakers seem to rely on linguistic expressions, as was seen in Example 5, whereas at least less advanced non-natives appear more inclined to top-down processing, as Example 4 demonstrates.

The activity of the listener has been emphasized especially in the connection of second language teaching and learning (eg. Hatch 1978). This study suggests that the speaker's contribution is also of central importance. One of the main reasons for comprehension problems was the non-native speakers' inability to express themselves in a way which would have helped the native listeners to infer their intentions.

A major advantage of relevance theory is that it defines comprehension within the framework of a communication theory. As a final remark I would like to point out a general aspect of comprehension in communication which this study made me aware of. Comprehension problems of the type that have been discussed in this paper may disturb the fluent flow of communication, but they are not fatal as they are overt and cleared up as a result of an interactive repair process. Most of them should, in fact, be considered an inevitable part of human communication. If communication is based on the participants' cognitive assumptions, problems predictably occur; more amazing is that the participants

so often manage to comprehend each other. Identifying the listener's interpretation when his reaction is very minimal and fails to reveal his interpretation is more problematic not only for the analyst but also for the speaker. This may lead to possibly much more serious problems as they are more difficult to locate at a later stage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allwood, J., S. Strömqvist & K. Voionmaa 1983. *Ecology of adult language acquisition*. University of Gothenburg. Papers in Theoretical Linguistics 45.

Bartlett, F. C. 1932. *Remembering*. London: Cambridge University Press.

van Dijk, T. A. & W. Kintsch 1983. *Strategies of discourse comprehension*. London: Academic Press.

Hatch, E. 1978. Discourse analysis and second language acquisition, in E. Hatch (ed.), *Second language acquisition*, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Nikko, T. 1991. Kognitiivinen lähestymistapa vieraan kielen ymmärtämiseen. Ymmärtäminen vieraan kielen puhujan ja natiivin puhelinkeskustelussa. (A cognitive approach to second language comprehension. Comprehension in native-speaker - non-native-speaker telephone conversation.) An unpublished licentiate thesis in Applied Linguistics. University of Jyväskylä. Department of Communication.

Rumelhart, D. E. 1980. Schemata: the building blocks of cognition, in R. J. Spiro, B. C. Bruce & W. E. Brewer (eds.), *Theoretical issues in reading comprehension*, Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Sperber, D. & D. Wilson 1986. *Relevance: communication and cognition*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Spiro, R. J. 1980. Constructive processes in prose comprehension and recall, in R. J. Spiro, B. C. Bruce & W. E. Brewer (eds.), *Theoretical issues in reading comprehension*, Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

THE HANDLING OF IMPOSITIONS IN NATIVE - NON-NATIVE CONVERSATIONS

Arja Piirainen-Marsh
University of Jyväskylä

Introduction

There appears to be wide agreement among those concerned with pragmatics and the study of discourse that interaction is to be seen as a process of negotiation where participants actively and continuously collaborate to bring about satisfactory outcomes. The view of discourse as a static product has largely been rejected and, instead, interaction is seen as a dynamic process and the interactants' joint achievement, or to put it in Candlin's (1987:24) terms, as "the skilled accomplishment of participants in the service of some goal".

In the light of recent developments in conversation and discourse analysis, it seems somewhat surprising that one discourse phenomenon, that of the production and management of *impositions*, or potentially face-threatening linguistic actions such as offers, requests or complaints, has largely been seen from the perspective of the single speech act as produced by one participant in interaction. Another term, which is often used of such action, namely *face-threatening act* (Brown & Levinson 1987), makes explicit the undue emphasis put on a single speech act in studies concerned with the phenomenon. Activities of this type have been studied extensively from cross-cultural and interlanguage perspectives and research on patterns in speech act production is now abundant (see eg. Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1990). However, only recently has it been acknowledged that the study of single unilaterally produced speech acts is not enough, and that we must examine the broader discourse context in order to find out how actions of this type are actually negotiated in interaction.

The emphasis on speech act production in research has probably, at least partly, been due to the apparent[1] speech-act-centredness of the most influential model concerned with the study of face-threatening behaviour, ie. the politeness model by Brown and Levinson (1987). Their theory of politeness makes bold claims about the central nature of politeness in interpersonal communication and about universal principles guiding polite or face-supportive strategic behaviour, and has inspired a whole host of studies on the linguistic realisations of politeness phenomena and their cross-cultural variation, usually as manifested in speech act production. In the non-native and interlanguage context the focus of research has been on the errors or irregularities in the learners' speech act behaviour and relatively little attention has been paid to native - non-native cooperation in the management of actions in connected discourse.

Although such studies give valuable insights into the regularities and variation in the way in which speech acts are produced, they necessarily present a severely limited view of the way in which linguistic action, in this case of the face-threatening type, unfolds in discourse. The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the ways in which impositions are jointly negotiated by native and non-native speakers in the process of interaction, and focus attention on some of the features of connected discourse which are as much a part of the negotiation of linguistic action as any utterance where a particular speech act is produced.

In the first part of the paper I will briefly review some of the problems associated with looking at a single speech act as realising (face-threatening) linguistic action. In the second part I hope to draw attention to some of the ways in which such actions, ie. impositions, are actually negotiated in sequences of discourse. I will illustrate the way in which negotiation is manifested in native - non-native discourse with examples taken from the data I am using in my own research. The data consists of simulated task-oriented conversations between a native speaker of English and a Bruneian second language speaker. I use the term 'task-oriented' to refer to interactionally complex situations which

[1] The need to study longer stretches of discourse is acknowledged by Brown & Levinson (1987:38-43) but the description and analysis is largely at the level of single utterances. A broader view of politeness is presented in Scollon & Scollon 1981.

involve solving some problem such as conveying and responding to an invitation, request or offer, making a complaint, etc.

Problems with the speech act approach

Many of the problems with the focus on single speech acts arise from the intricate and diverse nature of face-to-face communication and the inadequacy of a non-empirical approach such as Speech Act theory in the task of describing its richness and variety. The problems discussed below represent just a few of the shortcomings of speech act theory that have been observed by researchers (cf. Hancher 1979, Levinson 1983, Leech 1983, Verschueren 1987).

Speech acts in connected discourse

Several linguists have noted that speech acts are generally not produced in isolation but in sequences in dialogues or conversations where they are constrained by what has been accomplished in previous speech acts. In natural discourse the functions or illocutionary forces of utterances cannot thus be identified on a basis of an a priori classification of possible functions into discrete categories (cf. Searle 1976), but they depend on the place of the utterance in the sequence of talk and on the communicative situation in progress. Furthermore, a single utterance may reflect multiple functions or illocutionary forces, or, conversely, one function or illocutionary force may extend over a series of utterances.

Van Dijk (1981) talks about *pragmatic macrostructures* or *global speech acts* which have a function of organizing individual speech acts in a coherent conversation. Thus for instance a whole sequence of different individual speech acts might be characterised by the illocutionary force of *requesting* and be called a *macro-request*, and this pragmatic macro-act could account for local pragmatic coherence by defining the pragmatic topic of conversation.

Similar ideas have been suggested by other researchers (eg. Schneider 1988, Faerch & Kasper 1989, Cohen & Olshtain 1990, Kärkkäinen 1990) who have noted for instance that in making an imposition speakers usually produce a

speech act set, where the imposition is sometimes taken up and expressed several times in slightly different terms and regularly prepared and supported in discourse in different ways. The sequence where the topic of the imposition (eg. a request) is expressed is frequently preceded by *pre-sequences*, and the response to the imposition by *pre-responding sequences*. Thus the management of the interactional problem which might have been expressed in a single utterance, as expected in speech act theory, actually takes up a considerable amount of time and effort and affects the organization of the entire interaction.

Joint production of speech acts

The notion of macro-speech act also extends to the essentially reciprocal and cooperative nature of conversations in that many speech acts are produced jointly by both participants. Instead of carefully formulating a series of utterances to perform some desired speech act, speakers often 'put out feelers' and approach the topic indirectly in constant interaction with each other, and in this way the desired speech act in a sense emerges in the interactive process rather than is unilaterally produced by one speaker.

Interestingly, in the Oulu University discourse analysis project it was found that students of English for some reason did not utilize these interactive possibilities in their handling of face-threatening acts, but tended to produce speech acts as mini-monologues as opposed to the native speakers' dialogue patterns (Kärkkäinen 1990). A similar trend may account for a feature of non-native usage observed in the cross-cultural speech act project, namely that non-natives tend to produce much longer utterances than native speakers (Blum-Kulka 1989:26). It is yet to be established whether this in fact is a recurring feature of non-native discourse. Preliminary observations of my own native - non-native data do not in fact support this hypothesis.

Speech act and strategies of politeness

Politeness theory introduces the notion of strategy as a means of achieving communicative goals without endangering mutual relations in discourse. Different strategies are used to soften the impact of potential impositions (or

potentially face-threatening actions) in order to preserve and protect the participants' 'face'. The relationship between a strategy and a speech act, however, is somewhat problematic. It is sometimes assumed that a strategy is synonymous with the linguistic means used to mitigate some particular face-threatening act. This is not the case: there is no one-to-one relationship between any particular face strategy and a particular linguistic manifestation at the level of an utterance. For instance, Scollon & Scollon (1981:171) note that strategies of politeness operate at a global level reflecting the speakers' orientation to each other, as expressing solidarity or involvement on the one hand, or deference on the other. Moreover, they point out that a single communicative act may incorporate multiple face strategies.

Scollon & Scollon (1981:175 ff.) extend the global functions of politeness further and introduce the idea of cross-culturally different *politeness systems*. They claim that some cultures reflect a system of *deference politeness* which is based on the assumption of high values of social distance, and others an opposite system of *solidarity politeness* where interpersonal closeness and common ground are valued. Such differences in politeness systems are expected to explain difficulties and misunderstandings in cross-cultural communication.

Indeterminacy and strategic ambiguity

Several linguists have discussed the indirectness and ambivalence of much of communication and noted that speakers often intentionally leave the force of their utterances unclear and thus leave it up to the hearer to decide how they want to interpret them. Leech (1983:23) captures the indeterminacy of communication in his description of an utterance as a "linguistic juggling act, in which the performer has to simultaneously keep several balls in the air".

This phenomenon is part of the negotiability of meaning and is especially common in situations involving some face-threat. In such discourse we often find sequences where one participant is deliberately vague for instance for reasons of politeness and the other is trying to reduce the ambivalence and arrive at some interpretation by negotiation. Jenny Thomas (1985:773) calls this a process of *pragmatic disambiguation*, and sees it as a feature of most conversations. Through processes of this type participants negotiate various

pragmatic parameters such as power, distance and the seriousness of the imposition, and deal with the socio-cultural dimensions of discourse. The process also reflects the cumulative character of pragmatic force, as participants interpret utterances in the light of what has gone before (Thomas 1985:780).

Interactional management of impositions

I will now turn to the way impositions are handled in their conversational context in some instances of native (NS) - non-native (NNS) discourse. Below I shall make some observations about ways in which native and non-native participants make use of different interactional possibilities in their management of a potentially face-threatening situation and illustrate the observations with examples extracted from my data (see the appendix).

Manipulation of interaction structure

Recent studies which have begun to focus attention on face-threatening action in a sequential context have discovered that the interactional structure of conversations is often manipulated for purposes of politeness. It has been established (see eg. Pomerantz 1984, Faerch and Kasper 1990) that impositions are often systematically preceded by preparatory utterances or whole exchanges, sometimes termed *pre-sequences* (or pre-exchanges in discourse analysts' terms), and followed by *post-sequences* which serve to repair possible face-damage caused by the imposition. This type of manipulation of interaction structure is one characteristic feature in the negotiation of impositions, and it appears to be strategic in the sense that it is motivated by the speaker's wish to achieve a certain outcome and at the same time pay attention to face considerations.

Also certain types of interactional moves have been found to have a strategic face-supporting function in conversations. These are moves which expand and support some imposition (eg. a *request*) by for instance giving reasons or grounds for it, or disarming the hearer in anticipation of a possible offense (Edmondson 1981:122).

Example 1 (see the appendix) illustrates the way in which these interactional possibilities are made use of by the NNS performing the imposition of *inviting/requesting*[2]. The situation here is the following: the NS and the NNS are both students, the NS is visiting Brunei on holiday because his parents are working there. He is sitting in a coffee bar and is approached by the NNS, who wants to invite him to a party he is arranging because he has heard that the NS plays the guitar and has been playing in other parties recently.

In this example we can see how the NNS approaches the topic gradually and prepares ground for the imposition. First of all he asks the NS questions to establish common ground: *Are you Robert Dunston* (line 9) and *are you visiting*? (lines 21-22). Then he pays a disarming compliment to the NS by saying *I heard from my parents that you are good at singing and playing the guitar* (lines 32-34), and introduces himself and the topic of the party in general terms: *we have made the arrangement to have the informal party*, and hints at the invitation: *we don't have a person that can play guitar and sing* (lines 46-49). At this point in the conversation the NS has already deduced that an invitation is coming because he starts asking questions about the time and place of the party even though no explicit invitation has been made. In fact, the NNS performs the invitation still very indirectly in the following turn by saying: *Are you... do you have time?*

It seems that in this example the non-native speaker uses his knowledge of conversational organization and the possibilities of preparing an imposition indirectly before performing it 'on the record', and uses this knowledge as a means of making the imposition less abrupt and face-threatening to the recipient. The native speaker, on the other hand, makes use of similar assumptions of conversational organization and recognizes the NNS's intention before the imposition is actually expressed on the basis of the preparatory utterances.

What follows in this sequence is also of interest because the NS does not immediately respond to the invitation, but more negotiation follows before a

[2] In this case the elicited activity could be described as fulfilling both these functions; it is an invitation with an ulterior motive of asking for a favour (NNS wants NS to play the guitar in his party).

preliminary agreement is reached. And this brings us to another point of interest: preferred responses to impositions.

Types of responses

The types of responses that follow turns where an imposition is expressed present another conversational phenomenon which is relevant to the negotiation of impositions. It has been noted by some conversation analysts (eg. Pomerantz 1984) that some responses are *preferred*, that is, they are easier to produce in the conversational context than other responses, and are in this sense unmarked, while others are *dispreferred* or marked. Thus it is conversationally "easier" to agree than disagree, to accept invitations or offers than to reject them, and to answer questions than to decline to answer them. Preferred responses are often immediate, structurally simple and direct, while dispreferred ones are delayed, structurally elaborated and indirect.

Brown and Levinson (1987:38-9) explain this phenomenon in relation to face concerns. They point out that a dispreferred response amounts to a face-threatening act, eg. refusals of offers or non-answers to questions constitute an imposition in that they imply lack of consideration.

In example 1 again, we notice how the NS avoids or delays a direct response to the invitation, and instead gives possible reasons for rejecting the invitation: *unfortunately that is a night that my parents are having a party themselves* (lines 57-59). In this case the simple delay appears to be enough to imply to the NNS that that NS is perhaps about to reject the invitation. This is seen in the NNS's minimal reactions *I see* (lines 60 and 70). However, in order to save the NNS's face, the NS suggests a compromise and partially agrees to accept the invitation (lines 71-76): *I tell you what, I - I will consider first to do what you're talking about, to go along to the informal party*, etc. Note how the earlier vagueness and indirectness makes it possible for the NS to opt for this kind of action. If he had given a direct response immediately, it would be rather more difficult to continue the negotiation. At this point in the conversation a preliminary agreement is reached, although the speaker still makes his response sufficiently vague to leave his options open, and more negotiation follows where he in fact later changes his mind again.

Also whole sequences can be preferred to others, and equally be motivated by face concerns: an offer-acceptance sequence is preferable to a request-acceptance sequence because it is less risky for S to induce H into offering to do something than to ask him to do it, because H could refuse a request but not withdraw an offer. This makes it possible to indirectly avoid dispreferred sequences and 'fish out' preferred ones and thus negotiate an imposition off the record before (or instead of) making an on-record transaction. (Brown & Levinson 1987:39-40.)

It seems that something like this is going on in Example 2. There we have a situation which was expected to elicit the imposition of *requesting* from the NNS, who wants the NS to return a pair of earrings that she borrowed from her. In this example we can see how the NNS avoids doing the imposition, and the situation proceeds through a stage of off-record negotiation (lines 30 to 70) where the participants hedgingly try to establish whether the NS has in fact borrowed the earrings. Here the NNS also repeatedly flouts Grice's (1975) *cooperative maxims* by not being strictly truthful - in her brief it was clear the NS did borrow the earrings - and by being deliberately vague, and also saying somewhat less than she means. Following Grice we could suggest that she has a special reason for flouting the maxims, and that by doing this she implies a desire not to impose. Finally it is the NS who offers to check if she has got the earrings, without having been asked: *Look I'll check my bag when I get home* (lines 66-67). The NNS's response *Okay okay I just thought... I just want you to look around* (line 68) seems to confirm that this was the reaction she was hoping for, and suggests that she has in fact succeeded in her attempt to avoid the imposition of the request altogether, and fishing out an offer instead.

In Example 3 a similar negotiation occurs. Here the NNS happens to overhear a conversation between the NS and somebody else, where the NS expresses he needs help with a text written in Dusun language, which is a language that the NNS is familiar with. The situation was designed to elicit an *offer* of help from the NNS. As you can see from the extract, however, no offer is made explicitly. The NNS initiates the conversation and admits that she is familiar with the language, but waits for the NS to bring up the imposition. Interestingly, the NS also avoids explicitly requesting for help, but first asks questions (*Do you know about Dusun?* (lines 19-20) and *So do you speak Dusun?* (line 28) in order to establish common ground, and then brings up the imposition in indirect terms in the form of a suggestion for joint action: *Well perhaps we could do two things.*

If I showed you the article perhaps you could tell if it is in Dusun (lines 38-39). A little bit later, the NNS responds to this and in fact offers help: *if you show me the article maybe I could help* (lines 58-61). Simultaneously with the offer the NS repeats his suggestion. Thus the final utterances in this example give a good example of an imposition emerging in interaction as a joint product of two speakers. What is more, the imposition would seem to simultaneously reflect a number of illocutionary forces: that of offering, requesting and suggesting.

The three examples serve to illustrate how impositions are not produced unilaterally in single speech acts but negotiated jointly in the course of the conversation, often in very indirect terms.

Negotiation at global level

Negotiation of impositions is also reflected at an even more global level in the conversation. If we look at the level of the whole encounter, the negotiation is reflected for instance in the timing of the imposition; when and how it is introduced, what precedes and follows it, whether it is repeated or reformulated later, and how the topic is closed in the discourse. One phenomenon of interest in this context is the function of small talk, or 'phatic' phases of conversations, which serve to fulfil the participants' interactional goals in that they are focused on maintaining interpersonal relations rather than achieving any specific transactional outcomes. In my data, problematic impositions are often handled during several phases of the conversation, with interactionally oriented sequences preceding and sometimes also following them. Initial opening and small talk phases prepare ground for the coming imposition and in a sense create a climate of solidarity and cooperation which in part softens the impact of the imposition. Both examples 1 and 2 open with such sequences. In fact, cases where the participants go straight to the point are exceptional.

Sometimes such interactionally oriented phases can also have a corrective function. If something goes wrong in the negotiation of the imposition, the speakers drop the main topic and start talking about something more trivial, as if aiming to re-establish friendly relations before approaching the touchy subject again. In this way the negotiation of one imposition sometimes proceeds through several phases of talk, some of which are oriented primarily towards

the business of dealing with the imposition, and others towards the maintenance of cooperation and reciprocal support of face. Of course, in actual interaction the situation is even more complex than this in that the conversations contain a number of impositions, and the expression of one type of imposition (eg. invitation, request) potentially anticipates another (eg. rejecting an invitation, not complying to a request). Unfortunately space does not allow for examples of whole complex encounters where such lengthy negotiation takes place.

Conclusion

I have only been able to take up a few of the ways in which impositions can be negotiated and cooperatively managed by a native and a non-native participant in connected discourse, and the points I have attempted to make can be summarised as follows. Firstly, in order to get a full picture of the negotiation of impositions we need to look at different levels of conversational organization, and make the levels above the single speech act an integral part of the analysis. Secondly, even in the case of native - non-native discourse, we need to look at the contribution of both participants instead of concentrating on the non-natives' productions and finding fault in them. It seems that the non-natives' conversational contributions have all too often been examined simply from the point of view of possible pragmatic errors or examples of a particular non-native interactional style, without even considering them as motivated and potentially relevant responses to the native speakers' utterances, let alone allowing them any recognition as skilful contributions to the conversation at hand. Perhaps the conversation analytic goal of studying and describing "the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction" (Atkinson & Heritage 1984:1), and the perspective of discourse as a skilled accomplishment of the participants should not be restricted to discourse between 'competent' native speakers, it seems that this point of view might have something to offer for research on native - non-native discourse as well.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blum-Kulka, S., J. House & G. Kasper (eds.), *Cross-cultural pragmatics: requests and apologies, Advances in discourse processes Vol XXXI*, Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Brown, P. & S. Levinson 1987. *Politeness: some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Candlin, C. 1987. Beyond description to explanation in cross-cultural discourse, in L. Smith (ed.), *Discourse across cultures: strategies in world Englishes*, Hemel Hempstead, Hert.: Prentice Hall.

Cohen, A. & E. Olshtain 1990. The learning of complex speech act behavior, *The TESL Canada Journal*, November 1990.

Edmondson, W. 1981. *Spoken discourse: a model for analysis*. London: Longman.

Faerch, C. & G. Kasper 1989. Internal and external modification in interlanguage request realization, in S. Blum-Kulka, J. House & G. Kasper (eds.), *Cross-cultural pragmatics: requests and apologies*, Advances in discourse processes XXXI, Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Grice, H.P. 1975. Logic and conversation, in Cole & Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and semantics 3: speech acts*, New York: Academic Press.

Hancher, M. 1979. The classification of cooperative illocutionary acts, *Language in Society* 8, 1-14.

Kärkkäinen, E. 1990. The problem of norm in cross-cultural discourse. Paper presented at seminar on Cross-cultural Communication, Jyväskylä, March 1990 (in this volume).

Leech, G. 1983. *Principles of pragmatics*. London: Longman.

Levinson, S. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pomerantz, A. 1984. Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes, in J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneider, K. P. 1988. *Small talk: analysing phatic discourse*. Marburg/Lahn: Hitzeroth.

Scollon, R. & S. Scollon 1981. *Narrative, literacy and face in inter-ethnic communication. Advances in discourse processes* VII. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

Searle, J. R. 1976. The classification of illocutionary acts, *Language in Society* 5, 1-24.

Thomas, J. 1985. The language of power: towards a dynamic pragmatics, *Journal of Pragmatics* 9, 765-783.

van Dijk, T. A. 1981. *Studies in the pragmatics of discourse.* The Hague: Mouton.

Verschueren, J. 1987. Pragmatics as a theory of linguistic adaptation, *IPRA Working Document* 1, January 1987.

APPENDIX

EXAMPLE 1

NNS: Malay male
NS: English (English) male

NNS: Hello
NS: Oh hello there
NNS: Are you * Robert Dunston?
NS: I am. How did you know that?
NNS: Well I ** my parents knows ** knows your - your - your fathers
NS: Ah * so how do your parents know mine * (parents
NNS: He - he) lives next door to * to our - to our * house
NS: ah
NNS: but I - I've seen you before
NS: yea I was going to say I think I have seen you as well
NNS: mm * but I wonder * are you visiting **
NS: yes * I have come yea I live in Australia
NNS: mm
NS: and because my parents work here I have just come over here for * a visit of maybe twelve weeks three months, just to see how life is in Brunei and then * I will be going back to my course * in Australia
NNS: I heard that from * from my parents that you are very good * at singing and playing guitar
NS: Well it's er my fame has gone in front of me er I wouldn't call myself very good but er * they are two things that I do enjoy er I - I like to go running and I like to play the guitar * and singing, singing along to my * guitar
NNS: I see - see I 'm - I'm a student of Management Studies at the * University of Brunei Darussalam
NS: ah yes ?
NNS: so we have made the arrangement to ** have the informal party * but *** but now we don't have so er * a person that can play guitar and * sing * (songs
NS: er) where is this party?
NNS: it's in the University of Brunei
NS: And when would that be?
NNS: It's er, it will be, but I'm not sure, it will be on Tuesday night.
NS: Tuesday night
NNS: Are you, do you have time?
NS: Well, I think, unfortunately, that is a night that my parents are having a party themselves.
NNS: (I see
NS: I think) they're having some kind of swimming party. I mean it's not really my type of thing. As you know I prefer to go running and playing guitar...
NNS: Uh-huh
NS: ... but, er, my parents are pressurising me to some extent that I should stay in the party because I'm going on holiday.
NNS: Yes, I see
NS: I tell you what, I - I will consider, that is, the first to do what you're talking about, to go along to an informal party and mixing with people that I feel more relaxed with because quite honestly my parents' friends can be a little boring.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

EXAMPLE 2

NNS: Malay Female
NS: English (Australian) Female

NS: How's things then?
NNS: Oh, not too bad. I haven't had much of a chance to do much studying. I've been out every night this week, what about you?
NS: Well, it's er* it's okay.
NNS: Yes, erm.
NS: Did you go to (inaudible)?
NNS: Br, yes I did, what about you?
NS: Yes, yes it was quite a good show (7 sec.) what have you been doing since Monday?
NNS: Erm. I've been, I've got an essay to do but, but I've finished it alreadyuum, I'm ** finishing it soon (inaudible)
NS: I don't speak Brunei either, I don't even speak Malay.
NNS: Yes, that's the same as Malay (inaudible), but I study in your country.
NS: So (5 sec.)
NNS: Umm* there is one particular thing, er, I would like to ask you about.
NS: Yea?
NNS: Will you? Erm, this is regarding the ear-rings.
NS: (Ear-rings?
NNS: The the) ear-rings that er... (5 sec.)
NS: uh? Which ear-rings?
NNS: The, the ear-rings that er you wore at I think it was during the movie that you* erm* that you borrowed from me.
NS: On Monday night?
NNS: I guess so, I...
NS: I borrowed your ear-rings on (Monday?
NNS: Yes) (inaudible)
NS: Oh.
NNS: Uh?
NS: Have I not returned them to you?
NNS: Well, I don't know but, er, either you borrowed them or er I've misplaced them somewhere.
NS: Ah? Which, which? Which were they?
NNS: Umm* the ones I showed you when I moved in here, umm* from a very close friend of mine in Brunei.
NS: I see. Umm. Oh well I don't remember wearing them, I don't know anything about them actually but perhaps you were showing them to me and then dropped them in the room.
NNS: I don't remember.
NS: Perhaps, perhaps they dropped into my bag.
NNS: (that's possible
NS: Look I'll) check my bag when I get home.
NNS: Okay, okay ** I just thought er * I just want you to er * to look around.
NS: Oh well, I'll look in my bag.

EXAMPLE 3

NNS: Malay Female
NS: English (Scottish) Male

NNS: Hello
NS: Oh, hi.
NNS: Well, I'm new around here but I couldn't help * hearing your conversation, er, something to do with, er, Dusun? Is that right? Am I right?
NS: Well, yes, I mean, er, something to do with Dusun, yes, erm it's an article we've got that er * we think may be written in Dusun.
NNS: I see
H. But, er, I * I, do you know about Dusun? It's, it's, er, one of the languages of er * of Brunei. Brunei is a small country in erm...
NNS: Yea, actually I come from Brunei
NS: Oh, sorry, ah, very (sorry
NNS: Yea) that's why I couldn't help, er, listening to you, to your conversation just now.
NS: So, do you speak Dusun?
NNS: Well, not exactly, not exactly, but I have a lot of friends, er, Dusun friends and I'm used to hearing them, you know, speaking in, well, I sometimes heard them speaking with er, because I, I, know a little bit about that language...
NS: Oh, well.
NNS: ... not language, but
NS: Well, perhaps we could do two things. If I showed you the article you could ** tell me if it is in Dusun...
NNS: Ah, sure.
NS: ... and then perhaps you could er * you could translate it. What language do you speak?
NNS: Well, I speak Malay.
NS: And
NNS: And I converse in English as (you
NS: Yes, of course) (inaudible overlapping speech) Yes, of course, I mean, er, is Dusun similar to Malay?
NNS: Not exactly, but I think, er, there are similar, well I can say, not exactly words but there are some, you know, connection somehow, erm, for example, well, I can't think of one at the moment, (laugh) but...
NS: Ah.
NNS: ... but if you, if you, well if you show me the article?
NS: (Well, look...
NNS: Maybe I could help?)
NS: ... I'll bring the article to you and we could perhaps go through it together. I have a little bit of Malay that I picked up in Sarawak (...)

L2 LEARNER REPAIRS IN CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Liisa Salo-Lee
Federal University of Paraíba
Campina Grande, Brazil

Abstract

The paper reports on research in adult L2 learners' self-repair. Two principal types of repairs were distinguished in the study (Salo-Lee 1991): code- and discourse-related repairs. The results of the study indicate that both quantitative and qualitative changes occur in the use of these repairs along with the increasing proficiency of L2 learners. At the higher levels of proficiency, L2 learners tend to use, in general, more discourse- and less code-related repair. Individual repair profiles of L2 learners show, however, differences in the use of discourse-related repair. The study suggests repair to be a function of other contextual factors in the discourse, such as individual discourse production strategies, L2 learning experiences, cultural behavior patterns, communicative settings, etc. The paper also discusses a further research project which focuses on cultural differences in adult L2 learners' self-repairs.

Introduction

The objective of the study (Salo-Lee 1991) was to investigate the relationship between the repair behavior of adult L2 learners and their proficiency level. So far, only a few researchers have tied repair to the proficiency level of L2 learners and attempted to study this relationship in a more systematic fashion (eg. Schwartz 1980; Faerch and Kasper 1982; Stewner-Manzanares 1983, 1984). These previous studies have, however, focused on discourse-organizational aspects of L2 learner repair (cf. Schegloff et al. 1977). My purpose was to systematically explore how L2 learners at different levels of oral proficiency actually differ in their ability to manipulate language structures in doing repair work and how they organize these structures into coherent discourse.

Thus, my approach to repairs was primarily structural. I defined repairs, following Enkvist and Björklund (1989), as "structure shifts". "Structure shifts"

are all types of correction or improvement in which the speaker leaves a structure uncompleted: abandons it, or shifts to another structure. Unlike, for example, Schegloff et al. 1977, who use an all embracing concept of repairs, my concept was restricted to only those correction activities which had structural implications on the discourse (see also Faerch and Kasper 1982). An example of a "structure shift":

was vereinigten staaten betrifft glaube ich dass + dass die + immer bezeugt sind dass + *bezogen sind* [quick] dass sie + dass *es ihr pflicht ist + die freiheit in in allen ländern zu versichern ist.*

as for the United States I think that + that they are always convinced [error in German] + *are convinced* [quick, still an error] that they + that *it's their obligation to safeguard freedom in all countries.*

Pre-studies of L2 learner data indicated that in L2 learner repair two basic types could be distinguished:

(1) repair related to formal, or grammatical aspects of language;
(2) repair related to communicative aspects of language.

I assumed in my study that the occurrence of these two repair types can be systematically investigated in L2 learner discourse.

The data and the classification system

The study investigated self-repair in L2 learner discourse at different levels of proficiency in face-to-face interactions with native speakers. The particular focus was on college students, English speakers (L1) of German (L2). The corpus consisted of 30 oral proficiency interviews (ACTFL-OPI). The interviews were conducted by two native speakers of German at Georgetown University, USA, in 1984-85. Three levels of proficiency were considered in the study: Intermediate, Advanced, and Superior (for the criteria used in the evaluation see eg. Liskin-Gasparro 1984).

The classification system was as follows:

I Code-related repairs

Phonological repairs
Morphological repairs
Syntactic repairs
Lexical repairs

Code-related repairs are corrections of perceived departures from the prescribed or learned aspects of the L2 code.

II Discourse-related repairs

Amendment
Elaboration
Abandon

Discourse-related repairs have to do with the formulation of the message throughout the text. They give evidence of speakers' efforts to formulate the message appropriate to the requirements of the interlocutor and the communicative situation.

The subcategory *Amendment* involves incomplete constructions which are being amended or reformulated by the speaker in one way or another in order to carry out the message. The initial structure is interrupted and replaced by another structure. Either the direction of the same message continues, or else there is a shift in the direction of the developing discourse (for the latter type, see Schiffrin 1987). An example:

Interviewer: welchen eindruck haben sie von trier? finden sie es gut dass man das program in trier hat?
Student: ja für eine sommer ist es gut. es ist nicht zu + *es ist ganz* + *es ist ein bisschen für mich zu klein.*

Interviewer: what is your impression of trier? do you think it's good that we have this program in trier?
Student: well for one summer it's ok. it's not too + *it's rather* + *it's a little bit too small for me.*

The subcategory *Elaboration* consists of expansions of the message, either inserted within it or appended. The speakers may perform functions that could be characterized as giving background information, commenting, exemplifying. An example:

> ich war + *vor ich in georgetown gekommen bin* ich war in florida.
>
> I was + *before I came to Georgetown* I was in Florida.

In the subcategory *Abandon* the message is being abandoned by the speaker. The speaker interrupts himself, for one reason or another, and does not continue either the structure or the message. An example:

> ich weiss dinge um cia + sie sind uh + *ich habe nichts uh + dagegen dass...*
>
> I know something about CIA and + they are uh + *I don't have anything against that uh + uh that...*

The results

The results of the *quantitative analysis* showed a tendency of L2 learners to use more discourse-related repairs at higher levels of proficiency.

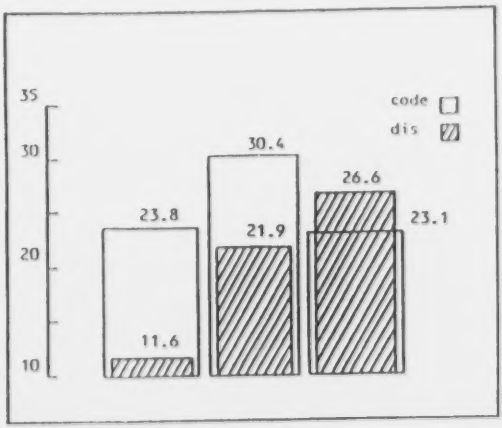

Figure 1. Code- and discourse-related repairs: comparison of means

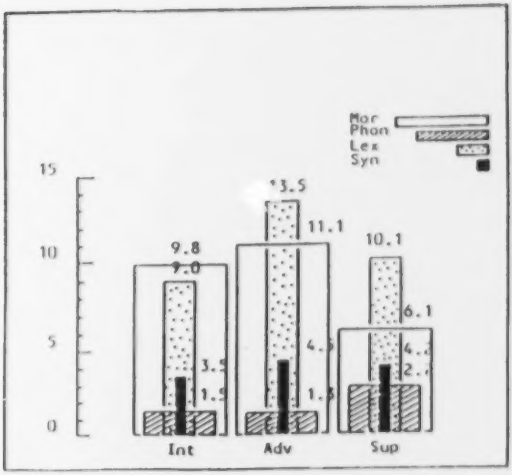

Figure 2. Code-related repairs (combined): comparison of means

In the use of code-related repairs, a curvelinear relationship could be observed at the different levels of proficiency (see Figure 2). The speakers at the Advanced level made, on the average, more code-related repairs than the speakers at the Intermediate and Superior levels. In the subcategories of code-related repairs (morphological, syntactic, and lexical repairs) a similar curvelinear relationship could be observed. Phonological repairs showed a different curvelinear relationship: L2 learners at the Advanced level (who made the most repairs in the other three subcategories) had the lowest average of phonological repairs. L2 learners at the Superior level had the highest average of this type of repair.

Within the general tendency towards discourse-related repairs at the higher levels of proficiency, individual repair profiles reveal, however, some variation in the repair behavior of L2 learners even at the same level of proficiency. In the *qualitative analysis*, I looked at the differences and the similarities in the discourse of the speakers from the same level, and also from the different levels of proficiency. An example from the data:

Speaker #1 (Superior):

[about a book] sie beschreibt + uh sie beschreibt + uh die ganze lage also + s- sie hat ein + ein phantastisches gefühl für die psychologie des kindes. und d- die art in der er spricht + oder uh + uh ich meine in der sie schreibt + dass er spricht [laughter]. es + es ist sehr subtil und + sie hat die die + die kleinen also die kleinigkeit + PHANTASTISCH ausgesucht und und gefunden und + [breath] es ist wirklich die psychologie ist + finde ich ist phantastisch. sehr sehr fein.

[about a book] she describes + uh she describes + uh the whole situation + I mean + s- she has a + a fantastic sense for the psychology of the child. and t- the way how he speaks + or uh + uh I mean how she writes + that he speaks. [laughter] it + it is very subtle and + she has picked it up and found the the + the small I mean the details + FANTASTICALLY + and and [breath] it is really the psychology is + uh I think fantastic. very very nice.

Speaker #1 is an "explorer" in her use of language, ie. she looks for new ways of saying things. She repairs a lot. Her discourse is rich in elaborations and amendments. She applies a syntactic strategy that leads her to a slowed articulatory rate, pauses and structural breakdowns. She displays with her discourse much of what Halliday (1985) calls "the ability to 'choreograph' very long and intricate patterns of semantic movement while maintaining a continuous flow of discourse that is coherent without being constructional" (202).

Speaker #2 (Superior):

ich bin in puerto rico geboren. uh + puerto rico + zwei inseln weiter von cuba. in der karibik. ziemlich schön. immer das meer und auch berge und + das war ganz schön aber + die leute sind halt nicht das was man von den leuten erwartet. [later] sie + die männer in puerto rico überhaupt. sie denken sich halt viel höher als die frauen. und man kann nicht auf einem selben niveau mit denen reden. sie sind immer über einen. die frau muss also zu hause bleiben auf das kind aufpassen und + darf also nicht arbeiten gehen. sie ist nur für den haushalt da.

I was born in puerto rico. uh + puerto rico + two islands far from cuba. in the caribbean. quite beautiful. always the sea and also the mountains and + that was quite beautiful but + the people are not what one expects them to be. [later] they + men in puerto rico generally speaking. they think more highly of themselves than of women. and one can't speak with them on the same level. they are always above you. the woman has to stay at home and look after the children and + is not allowed to go to work. she is only for housework there.

Speaker #2, at least in this communicative situation, prefers to play it safe: she often repeats the same expressions instead of finding different ways to say the same thing, she makes use of the interviewer's expressions, etc. The discourse shows only few repairs. She uses a telegraphic style that may be more effective than Speaker #1's "clause-integrating" syntactic strategy in terms of grammaticality and fluency (see Pawley and Syder 1983). The overall impression is that this student, in some instances, reduces her communicative goals in order not to reveal lexical or other code-related problems.

Speaker #1 overtly discusses her code-related problems. She has less need for face-saving strategies: her status as a language learner is also manifested overtly:

[talking about whether she would teach languages] ich habe + oh ich hab lange gedacht ob das französisch oder oder deutsch sein sollte aber + ich glaube dass mein französisch VIEL besser ist [laughter] und + da zögere ich nicht. ich meine + wenn man + über ein wort fünf minuten oder + auch in zwei minuten zögern muss o- wenn man nicht ganz sicher ist dann ist das zu + zu gefährlich.

[talking about whether she would teach languages] I have + oh I thought a long time whether it should be french or or german but I think that my french is MUCH better [laughter] and + there I don't hesitate about a word five minutes or + even two minutes or if one is not completely sure then it is too + too dangerous.

Speaker #2 explicitly refers to her status as somebody who already knows German very well (her parents are German; she grew up in Puerto Rico):

[talking about her decision to study German] ah meine deu- meine eltern sind deutsche. und: [click] uh als ich: hier an der georgetown als ich hinschrieb dann sagte /?/ *school of languages and linguistics *is ok. da kann ich deutsch studieren obwohl ich schon kann + aber helfen kann's mir trotzdem.

[talking about her decision to study German] ah my ge- parents are german. and: [click] uh when I: here at georgetown when I wrote here then the school of languages and linguistics said it is ok. I can study german there even if I already can + but it can help me anyhow in spite of that-

A similar repair pattern to that of Speaker #2 can be seen in the discourse of another speaker, Superior #3 - also with a "pressure of German inheritance": "ich bin mit der deutschen sprache aufgewachsen" (I grew up with the German language).

What do the speakers at the highest level of proficiency have in common then, with regard to repair? One feature common to the above two speakers (#1 and 2), and also in general for the students at higher levels, is the avoidance of unnecessary attention to code-related aspects. Errors, if they occur, are not always corrected. If they are corrected, the repair activity is, in general, quickly performed. If a quick correction is not possible, repair failures occur. Morphological repair, in particular, seems to be embarrassing for the higher level speakers. Problem situations are avoided. The anticipation of problems is more apparent, for instance, in the discourse of Speaker #2, but Speaker #1 also displays this in form of paraphrasing, etc. Speakers at the higher levels use hesitation devices (e.g. streching, gambits) in connection with repairs in a native-like fashion. All speakers at the Superior level pay attention to the phonological aspects of discourse: pronunciation, suprasegmentals. As opposed to the general tendency in code-related repairs at other levels, the phonological repairs increased, on the average, at this level.

The qualitative analysis also suggests that discourse-related repairs, in particular, may have a different effect in different contexts. They may be a function of other contextual factors in the discourse, such as frequent errors or lexical problems. Depending on the context, they then either enhance communication, or contribute to perceived incoherence.

To sum up, the results of the study indicate that the ability to repair appropriately one's own discourse forms part of L2 proficiency. A gradual change from code-related repairs towards more discourse-related repairs occurs with increasing proficiency. The study suggests, however, that the repair behavior of L2 learners reflects individual discourse-production strategies ("explorers" vs. "safe-players"), L2 learning experiences, the nature of the communicative situation, cultural behavior patterns, personal needs for face-saving (eg. Speakers #1 and 2), etc. The study also suggests repairs to be a function of other factors (eg. errors, lexical problems) in the discoursal context.

Beyond its proper scope, the study also leads to some pedagogical reflections. Both "explorers" and "safe-players", such as Speakers #1 and #2, respectively, seem to do equally well in oral proficiency tests like ACTFL-OPI. Outside the school environment, however, the "explorers" may, in fact, do better. Schulze (1989) reports on an experiment where L2 learners (German as L2) were

evaluated in simulated job interviews, not directly according to their language skills but according to the impression they gave as communicators during the interview. A subsequent linguistic analysis showed that speakers of the type "safe-players", ie. with lots of monitoring and few self-repairs, got negative evaluations as interlocutors and communicators. According to Schulze, repairs, also code-related - if in right proportion to the interaction - have a more positive effect on one's image and on the evaluations than eg. long planning pauses.

Research project *Repairs in learner language: a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective*

The 1991 study pointed to other dimensions of the development of L2 proficiency than only the differences in the repair behavior of L2 learners at different levels of proficiency. The shift of attention from code- to discourse-related repairs can also be seen to reflect the increasing ability of L2 learners toward full use of language in its metalinguistic and metacommunicative functions (see Schiffrin 1987; cf. Faerch and Kasper 1982). The discourse-related repairs that explicitly focus on message and interactional aspects are of a special interest in this research project.

The corpus consists of data collected in the United States (Salo-Lee 1991). In addition, spoken L2 learner discourse has been collected in Brazil and in Finland. Also available for the study are English and German data from NS-NNS speaker conversations at the University of Jyväskylä.

At this stage of the research, only preliminary observations can be made.
I am beginning to suspect that, in terms of repairs, not many culture-specific features appear in Finnish L2 learner discourse - except for, that there may not be much repair. My first impression of Finnish student discourse from advanced levels (still to be revised later) is that of relative correctness - and repairlessness. Finnish students tend to produce, in general, "finished products", much like Student #2, the "safe-player", in my earlier example. It is as if the Finnish saying "keskeneräistä työtä ei pidä näyttää herroille eikä hulluille" (unfinished work should not be shown to anybody), apparent also elsewhere in the Finnish culture, would apply to Finnish L2 learner discourse as well. As discussed above, this type of communicative strategy may not be equally effective in all cross-cultural encounters.

In cross-linguistic and cross-cultural comparisons, certain features in the Finnish L2 learner discourse may not turn out to be culture-specific at all, but rather L2 learning problems in general. Even so (or because of that) an investigation into L2 learner discourse from a cross-cultural perspective is, in my opinion, valid. I am thinking here particularly of the applications of the research in language teaching and testing, where information of different features of oral communication is today urgently needed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Enkvist, N. E. and M. Björklund 1989. Toward a taxonomy of structure shifts, in W. Heydrich, F. Neubauer, J. S. Petöfi and E. Sözer, *Connexity and coherence: analysis of text and discourse*, Research in Text Theory 12, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Faerch, C. and G. Kasper 1982. Phatic, metalingual and metacommunicative functions in discourse: gambits and repairs, in N. E. Enkvist, *Impromptu speech: a symposium*, Åbo: Research Institute of Åbo Akademi Foundation.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.

Liskin-Gasparro, J. 1984. The ACTFL proficiency guidelines: gateway to testing and curriculum, *Foreign Language Annals* 17, 475-489.

Pawley, A. and F. Syder 1983. Two puzzles for linguistic theory: nativelike selection and nativelike fluency, in J. Richard and R. Schmidt (eds.), *Language and communication*, London: Longman.

Salo-Lee, Liisa 1991. *Self-repairs in learner language: evidence from German at different proficiency levels*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag (forthcoming).

Schegloff, E., G. Jefferson and H. Sachs 1977. The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation, *Language* 53, 361-382.

Schiffrin, D. 1987. *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schulze, M. 1989. Möglichkeiten der Erwerbsdiagnose und -kontrolle im kommunikativen Unterricht. Paper presented in the 1st National Conference of ABRAPA, Sao Paulo.

Schwartz, J. 1980. The negotiation of meaning: repair in conversations between second language learners of English, in D. Larsen-Freeman (ed.), *Discourse analysis in second language research*, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publ.

Stewner-Manzanares, G. 1983. Turn-taking structure of second language learners of Spanish at different oral proficiency levels. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Georgetown University.

Stewner-Manzanares, G. 1984. Repair sequences found in non-native and native speaker conversations at four levels of proficiency. Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the AAAL, Baltimore, MD.

SEEKING CLARIFICATION IN ORAL TESTS

David Marsh
University of Jyväskylä

Introduction

This paper examines points in oral test interviews where an interviewee explicitly seeks clarification from the interviewer on the content of a question posed, prior to attempting to answer a question. Some of the interviews are drawn from the Finnish Foreign Language Diploma for Professional Purposes examination (Työelämän kielidiplomi). Others are taken from foreign language test data collected at the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation (YLE).

Background

The two situations represented in the sample data vary to some extent. The Finnish Foreign Language Diploma test interview was part of an extensive language test, but to which the bulk of the interviewees had been invited to attend. This was because at the time that the interviews took place the test was in its infancy. However, we can assume that the interviewees had particular interest in performing as well as possible in order to receive a high overall test grade.

The foreign language oral test interviews conducted at the Finnish Broadcasting Corporation were significant in that they were, to some extent, gate-keeping situations. This is because the test being administered was an integral part of a selection process for career advancement.

Participants

In each oral test interview (TKD: one to one; YLE: one to two), the interviewer is a native-speaker of English (British or North American) and the interviewees

were native-speakers of Finnish or Finland-Swedish. The interviewers are experienced teachers of English language, though not all have an academic background in either English language or applied linguistics. The interviewees are generally highly-educated and experienced in their respective fields of administration, business and the media.

Objectives

In this study, an attempt was made to determine whether those points in the dialogues where the interviewee is apparantly unprepared to answer a question without further information being supplied by the interviewer fall into specifiable functional categories. This was done because it was noted that, in the sample data, the Finnish interviewees were repeatedly seeking clarification in response to certain types of question, and more notably, whilst engaged in interaction with certain interviewers.

In order to determine why this was happening, an investigation was made into whether identification of certain functional categories related to seeking clarification, might indicate differences in frames of reference held by specific interviewers, and interviewees, in the oral interviews.

Data comparison

At the same time at which the two types of sample data used in this study were recorded, namely that of English native-speaker interviewers and Finnish interviewees, comparison data was also collected.

The comparison data comprises interviews between Finnish interviewers and a range of foreign interviewees, in which English language is used. This data was recorded in a Finnish Broadcasting Corporation studio, using interviewers drawn from the YLE sample described above. The interviews were recorded so as to be of a high enough quality, in terms of both content and recording, for TV transmission. The topics discussed varied, but were face-threatening to some extent, especially those relating to an impending war in Iraq and Kuwait. The interviewees were from Britain, Egypt, North America, the Soviet Union and

Syria. They were generally high-level professionals working in a range of diplomatic, educational and political posts. The interviews were held in English.

The comparative data was examined from a sole perspective; namely, to observe situations in which the interviewer is Finnish, in order to determine whether non-Finnish interviewees also seek clarification to the same extent as found in the sample data.

Findings

The comparative data revealed very few instances of interviewees' seeking clarification.

Four ways of seeking clarification were identified in the sample data. The first of these involves the interviewee seeking partial clarification of the points raised in a question. Here, it appears that the interviewee understands the overall content of the question posed, but wishes the interviewer to specify more precisely what information s/he seeks, before offering an answer.

Seeking partial clarification

a Interviewer: "Is MTV lowering standards of TV in Finland?"
Interviewee: "Do you mean Finnish MTV?

b Interviewer: "If you could double your salary and move anywhere in the world for a minimum of one year, which country would you choose?"
Interviewee: "Doing what I'm doing now?"

c Interviewer: "Do you have high hopes of the Summit, I mean, in terms of your general attitudes to this situation?"
Interviewee: "So you mean, the situation in Iraq, do I wait for something, some results?"

d Interviewer: "What have you been doing before you started your own company?"
Interviewee: "Well, that's a long story."
Interviewer: "Well, what about your job before?"

The second way of seeking clarification found in the interview data, appears to involve the interviewee requesting a full clarification of the information requested.

Seeking full clarification

a Interviewer: "How do you feel?"
Interviewee: "About what, the test?"

b Interviewer: "What have you been doing this morning?"
Interviewee: "Doing?"
Interviewer: "What time did you start?"
Interviewee: "Here?"

c Interviewer: "So, we'd like you just to talk now".
Interviewee: "Talk about what?"

d Interviewer: "Why does one get the impression that President Koivisto is not often interviewed by Yleisradio people but is often interviewed by commercial TV and radio?"
Interviewee: "Do one get such an impression?"
Interviewer: "I've heard it said. I don't know if there is any truth to that."

These were the two most common types of request for clarification, but two others also feature in the data, namely, seeking clarification of terms, and through a distinct form of non-verbal/paralinguistic signalling.
In the following example, two ways of seeking clarification may be operating. The first in "Well, yes, but, er..." may be the start of a request for partial clarification. The interviewer interrupts the interviewee with a follow-up question which is responded to with a request for clarification of terms, in this case the name of a foreign journalist.

Seeking clarification of terms

Interviewer: "Are there any particular correspondents, either Finnish or foreign, that you particularly admire?"
Interviewee: "Well, yes, but, (er
Interviewer: "I) know the problem, can't get the right name at the right time! What about Oriana Fallaci?"
Interviewee: "Who is that?"

In the following example the use of non-verbal/paralinguistic signalling was used in which the interviewee, through silence and non-verbal cues, encourages the interviewer to reformulate the question posed until a satisfactory statement is delivered.

Seeking clarification through non-verbal/paralinguistic signalling

Interviewer: "What about your future?"
"Have you got any idea?"
"Would you probably stay in p.r.?"
Interviewee: "Yes, I think so."

Conclusions

The findings described above raise more questions than answers. But this does not negate the value of the study described, because the frequency of and ways in which Finnish interviewees seek clarification may be indicative of possible flaws in the interaction. What follows is speculative discussion of why this may be the case.

This discussion may be usefully framed by three statements made by Finnish interviewees, in retrospective comment on oral interviews found in the sample data:

* "This was not an interview, it was not anything at all."
* "I suppose I wasn't sure quite what he wanted."
* "At the beginning he said he just wanted us to talk."

It is possible that the English native-speaker interviewers in the sample data attempt to place the ensuing test interview into an informal conversational mode, which appears to be partially rejected by the Finnish interviewee. Thus, a form of conversational dilemma may be occuring, which is signalled at those points at which clarification is sought. It is possible that this may occur because the questions are framed according to rather vague small talk procedures, eg. "How do you feel?", which the interviewee considers inappropriate for the situation, namely that of an oral test interview. Rather vague questions are also used in the comparative data, yet there the

interviewee tends to respond in one way or another, sometimes by using the question as a means of introducing another topic, but rarely rejecting the question or insisting that it be qualified.

Perhaps the interviewer in the sample data is trying to make the interaction overtly characterized by consensus, whereas because of certain obvious situational constraints, the situation is viewed by the Finnish interviewee as characterized by dissensus.

There are alternative ways of suggesting why the seeking of clarification should be found so often in the sample data. However, on the basis of this enquiry, this author suggests that in these situations, subjects do not share the same conceptual frame through which contributions are to be understood by both parties.

Disregarding those questions which are explicitly not understood in terms of linguistic content, it may be suggested that there are points in the dialogue where interpretation of the weighting towards transactional (information transfer) and interactional (developing and maintaining interpersonal relations) function, is not shared by interviewer and interviewee alike. If this is found to be the case in other enquiries on oral interviews between Finnish and non-Finnish interactants, an intercultural difference may have been uncovered in attitudes towards appropriate styles of discourse in the foreign language oral test interview.

THE RELEVANCE OF REPAIR FOR SELF EXPLICATING ARTIFACTS

Pirkko Raudaskoski
University of Oulu

Introduction

This paper reports on an interdisciplinary research effort, Conversation Analytic (CA) and Human-Computer Interaction (HCI) studies, which is in progress. I would like to start by explaining what is meant by some concepts in the title, as they might seem to be a bit far from the theme, ie. discourse and language. Dictionary definitions offer a good starting point, so let us begin from the end of the title (self explicating artifacts) and see what is meant by an artifact:

1a a usu simple object (eg. a tool or ornament) produced by human workmanship *b* a product of civilization *<an ~ of the jet age>* 2 sthg (eg. a structure seen in the microscope) unnaturally present through extraneous influences (eg. from defects in the staining procedure) (New Penguin English Dictionary)

Artifacts that are easy to use could be intuitively divided into two classes (cf. definitions *a* and *b* above): (i) artifacts that are very handy (literally) - the purpose they are used for has affected, for example, the shape and material of the tool; and (ii) artifacts that are self explicating in the sense that how they should be used is not problematic. These two definitions are by no means in a mutually exclusive distribution; rather, a self explicating artifact usually has both features. The first category is roughly to do with everyday actions like killing for food (the early man) and cooking (the present man) - the tools should be as practical as possible. In the second category the tools or objects are more like human beings whom we can understand (most of the time) if we speak the same language. Computer interfaces, though far from being human, come under the second heading, too. For both categories, it is common that we know what we want to do with them - the problem, if there is any, is how? The higher the usability of the artifact, the more explicable it is in interaction with people: you can manage the interaction without having to adhere to external help. In the second class a regular property is that language is involved, but in the absence

of the author/designer language is not all that matters. For humans, the context of the situation - gestures, facial expressions, body posture - is as important as the verbal contribution, and for computers the textual language is very limited - most of the time a jargon has to be learnt before you can use a machine. There are of course other objects than computers that 'use' language (which actually might have computers embedded within). A washing machine 'tells you' what you can do with it, if not verbally, then through signs whose meaning is straightforward (self explicating) or (internationally/conventionally) agreed upon. Thus, the division into two types of artifacts could be a partition into tools usable as such and tools that are operated through a machinery, as the latter case might involve written language and other symbolic signs.

Next, we need to explain what is meant by 'repair' as it is the very nature of the concept that my research is focusing on. However, the notion of repair is not that simple. The working definition presented here is in the form of a list. There is a clear impact from Conversation Analytic studies:

(i) Repair work is to be found in human everyday actions, and it is assumed to be the basic way of action: the world is not a place where the inhabitants do their actions in predesigned ways without having to adhere to corrective or revisive management of them.

(ii) People act first and foremost situatedly - no cognitive modelling can override the *in situ* nature of human action, including repair; the situated character of actions means we cannot dismiss language, body, objects around, time - everything is relevant but does not have to be represented at all times.

(iii) Language is action, but there is a special relation between linguistic and other activities, including repair work; repair work in this study also concerns actions to do with non-linguistic items in the world, with the special case of the "language-using" computer.

(iv) We make sense; of our own activities to ourselves (to a certain extent), and others' activities to us - the sense making is methodical and illustrated in our activities and language use; problems here result normally in turn-analysis repair.

(v) Conversational speech is accomplished through the turn-taking mechanism - difficulties there lead into turn-taking repair.

(vi) Of the types of repair possible to initiate, self and other initiated self-repair is most preferred, other-initiated repair least preferred (in conversation).

Thus, repair work is given the status of an elementary method of understanding in our everyday life, where the situated nature of interaction with people and non-human entities is underlined. The relationship between linguistic and other actions should be examined, especially in case of repair work, and one specific case is human-computer interaction, where both are involved. The previous analyses into repair work have given the result of self-initiation being most preferred, and other-initiated least. The two types of repair refer to the possible difficulties in the actual method of analysing the other's turn: turn-analysis repair would cover eg. mishearings, where something in the turn is misunderstood; turn-taking repair would enclose misunderstandings where the whole of the turn, not a part of it, is mistaken for something else, eg. a question as a command. Further analysis will show whether this type of classification is needed at all.

Methodological background

A conversation analytic approach to repair and self explication is taken, which is a research topic that covers both human studies and artificial intelligence (AI). The term 'human' rather than 'linguistic' is used here, as the human being cannot be separated from her linguistic actions. There is no need to abstract the language and repair work away from the situation as has been done in the traditional linguistic research.

So, this research is relevant not only for CA, but also for AI and HCI (Human-Computer Interaction) studies. A thesaurus definition could be used to clarify the different views that AI, DA, and CA have on repair:

1 to restore by replacing a part or putting together what is torn or broken *2* to restore to a sound or healthy state *3* to remedy (New Penguin English Dictionary)

These three definitions of the word 'repair' look - superficially - similar to how Artificial Intelligence or Human-Computer Interaction studies, Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis see repair. The explanations look almost the same, but there are some crucial differences.

1 In AI and HCI, repair is mostly seen as something needed when a dialogue between a computer and its user is 'broken': the 'normal' flow of conversation has to be restored. Repair is needed when something goes seriously wrong. There seems to be a two-folded way of seeing communication as either exchanging message packages which should be easy to interpret with a sophisticated parser, or else that language discloses large scale scripts of behaviour or plans that we try to realise when in discourse. Neither of these allows for the local management of conversation where meaning would be interpreted on the spot, and does not depend on the conventional meaning of words or utterances, but on the context. For instance, a parser can only take a very limited number of contextual factors into account, and global models of dialogues cannot handle local phenomena. These are the main streams of AI research where new ideas have emerged (eg. Suchman, 1987) with an emphasis on the contextual phenomena.

2 Of linguistic studies, Discourse Analysis can be encountered as dealing substantially with conversations. In the formalistic branch of DA (eg. discourse grammar studies), repair is understood to do with corrections, misunderstandings, etc. that are regarded as faults in the discourse. The sociolinguistically oriented wing of DA research examines how speakers manage to keep the talk interactively smooth and polite, ie. where repair at least implicitly is needed to adjust the general atmosphere of the situation. This work is significant for second language studies, where students have to be made aware of when they might cause more serious problems than just making grammatical mistakes.

3 Conversation Analysis does not want to make any judgements or models of conversation *a priori*: where CA sees repair is when people have to do special work to maintain intelligibility. Certain patterns for this work have been found in CA studies, but nothing is said about when they will occur, ie. it is impossible to predict when certain type of repair sequence would develop. However, the question is about remedying the situation, though no accounts as to why the situation ensued are not given to avoid mentalistic explanations. The most significant outcome of CA studies is that repair work is regarded as a fundamental and pervasive feature of conversation: repair is not an emergency measure but an integral part of interaction - in speech and sign, as well as in non-verbal communication.

The non-vocal interactional activities where objects are included have been shown to have similar tendencies as the use of repair in talk. C. Goodwin (1981:145-146) considers an example in which one person gives a light to another person's cigarette. When the other person is distracted from the action, and does not have her cigarette ready to meet the light, the person offering the light adds a sequence to her actions, viz. she seems to find something wrong with the lighter and fiddles with it until her friend is ready to complete the action of lighting the cigarette and brings her cigarette forward. The example shows neatly the counterpart of conversational repair in an activity. Actually in face-to-face conversations we do not just analyse the previous speaker's turn in ours but adapt what we are saying according to the activities of the other person. C. Goodwin (1981) has studied video data of conversations, and shows how much the other interlocutor(s) affect what we are actually saying. Thus we continually monitor our co-speaker(s), which means that if self-repair is looked at, we have to have video data from the situation, as sometimes repetitions and reformulations are done just to gain the other's gaze rather than observing that she does not understand, ie. similar forms are used both for getting attention and to repair an error. However, by repairing the speaker at the same time secures that she makes herself understood: if there is no eye contact between the speaker and the hearer, the speaker cannot possibly be sure that the person she is talking to is actually listening.

Looking at data: preliminary results

In the following, some results of empirical investigations related to the topic, viz. Finnish sign language, computer interfaces in general and a special case of a computer dialogue system, will be discussed. The latter two studies were conducted in order to better appreciate the situated use of complex self explicating artifacts.

Finnish sign language (FSL)

The conversational repair will be examined through sign language, the linguistic system of which is fairly different from that of speech languages. Rissanen (1987:24) mentions the repetitive use of signs and the redundance thus created

in conversational sign, but leaves a closer look for further research. Abundant repetition means that in sign you seem to do more work to prevent misunderstandings. Repetitions do not seem to be self repairs, as is the case many times in speech, but they are a regular way of constructing a turn. As there has not been any clear cases of repair, the general structure (ie. how are repairs usually formulated) of sign repair has not been comparable to that of speech. There is a great deal of research done into repair in speech exchanges, and certain patterns have been found, eg. 'No, I mean' (when something in your cospeaker's turn shows that she has misinterpreted what you have said earlier). Further research is needed to show how the resources of the situation are used in the special case of a visual language: the constraints, conventions, reasoning and chance are different for sign, at least with respect to the constraints and conventions. Signers use plenty of pointing for instance, thus maybe using the immediate context to a greater degree than is done is speech. How that relates to repair work is yet to be determined. Turn-taking repair was mentioned before. Sign language is based on turn-taking also, but the special modality seems to tolerate eg. more overlapping (see eg. McIlvenny in this volume).

Computer interfaces

Computer interfaces serve as an example of attempts at self explication through textual prompting. In the following, the terms 'program' and 'machine' will be used almost synonymously with 'computer'. The data has been collected involving two persons at a computer using *Learning Word 5* teach yourself program. Some preliminary comments will be mentioned here. First of all, the program seems to employ some repair strategies. They appear to be implemented in accord with the designer's intuitions about communication situations: if the user does not react within a certain time, a further instruction will be presented. The effect on the users is very interesting, eg. when there are two users at a computer wanting to learn something about Word 5, also giving material on how they repair each other's misunderstandings when using the program. There are even some cases of speaking out the difficulties in interpreting (eg. A: Does this make sense?, B: Mm, not to me; or being perplexed as what to do next: Now, what will we do?). One thing to look at would be how the user deals with the machine that is giving him instructions, eg. what the general outlay of the screen means for people trying to make sense

of its 'turn'. Further, what does it mean to have such different constraints and conventions from human-human interaction in dealing with a machine, where the resources consist mainly of language seen on the screen, a mouse to move around to certain places to be clicked? With two people you get verbal commentary on possible problems which helps the analyst to understand how the machine's behaviour is interpreted.

Telephone answering system

The telephone answering system provides an environment for self explication through dialogue metaphor. In the case of a hypothetical computer telephone answering system which was intended for showing the contingencies of on-line speech dialogues, the attempt was to give local possibilities for the user to manage repair when dealing with a computer system. For this, some repair strategies were implemented: it was possible for the computer to randomly pick one of the following ways of repairing

(1) Specify the source of trouble: "Leave what?"
(2) Imply not hearing our understanding the user: "Sorry?"
(3) Have a guess what the user tries to do: "Do you mean —?"
(4) Specify for the user as what is possible to do with the system: "You can leave messages or listen to messages - select either"
(5) Precheck everything is alright before proceeding in the program: "So you want to —, is that right?"

It was important that the simulation happened on-line, so the users would have to react in real-time. A result of this investigation was that it is very hard to predict how people will interpret a predesigned piece of language. Though in this case the system was trying to get relevant information from the user by adhering to repair initiators like "Sorry?", "Do you mean to send a message?", etc, there were cases where the user would not hear them as repair initiators but give them a meaning that would be relevant to what she thought was going on in the discussion (see Raudaskoski, 1990, for a more detailed description).

Conclusions

The study so far has given some interesting preliminary results of the nature of repair work in different kinds of situations where various sorts of resources are at a participant's disposal. The provisional analyses indicate that the whole concept of repair work needs an overhaul in order to sort out the family resemblances. The general notion would be something like uncertainty of understanding, of which clear-cut repairs are a subsection. Self explicating artifacts are not solely a matter of providing an enculturated and linguistically able, straightforwardly clear user interface. The negotiation of meaning, of which repair work is an outstanding example, is a continuous process. This is what we are doing with other people, thus an understanding of repair in human behaviour will help clarify what is feasible and required for successful *active* self explication in artifact design and use.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Garfinkel, H. 1967. *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goodwin C. 1981. *Conversational organization*. New York: Academic Press.

McIlvenny, Paul. Some thoughts on the study of sign language talk (in this volume).

The New Penguin English Dictionary 1987. London: Penguin Books.

Norman, D. A. 1988. *The psychology of everyday things*. New York: Basic Books.

Pimiä, P. 1987. Suomalaisen viittomakielen suunliikkeistä, in P. Pimiä and T. Rissanen (eds.), *Kolme kirjoitusta viittomakielestä*, Department of General Linguistics Pub. No. 17, Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Raudaskoski, Pirkko 1990. Repair work in human-computer interaction: a conversation analytic perspective, in P. Luff, N. Gilbert & D. Frohlich (eds.), *Computers and conversation Analysis*, London: Academic Press.

Rissanen, T. 1987. Toistoprosesseista kuurojen viittomakielessä, in P. Pimiä and T. Rissanen (eds.), *Kolme kirjoitusta viittomakielestä*, Department of General Linguistics Pub. No. 17, Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Suchman, L. A. 1987. *Plans and situated actions: the problem of human machine communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SPECIAL FEATURES IN CHILDREN'S CONVERSATIONS

Merja Karjalainen
University of Oulu

Introduction

The focus of child language investigation has followed the general main lines of other linguistic research: eg. the spirit of transformational-generative linguistics is very visible in the studies of the sixties. The investigation of semantics, which moved into focus during the seventies, was an important period for conversational investigations, because word combinations are not interpretable without the context. According to McTear (1985:7) this ability to interpret word combinations was one way in which conversational data became relevant for child language researchers.

The notion that the meaning of a behavior depends on the context in which it is used is the essence of pragmatics. According to the pragmatic perspective, semantic, syntactic, and phonological analyses of an utterance are insufficient for determining the utterance's meaning. One must also consider who used that utterance with whom under what circumstances. (Becker 1984:3.)

The nature of the investigation of child language has often been more pragmatic than other areas of linguistic investigations. Observations of the development of child language have been made in natural speech contexts and the audio- and videotaped data which have been used with corpus-investigations are usually from natural conversational environments.

Recently, during the seventies and eighties, conversational child language data have been mainly used for the investigation of the mother tongue and of the development of the conversational skills of children. So the main part of the data collected and published so far contains conversations between children and either their mothers or other adults. There are also recordings of two children conversing with each other. Some recordings have also been made about the groups of three or more children engaged together in conversation.

One of the topics of my thesis is the analysis of features which seem to be typical of childrens's conversations. The conversations were both video- and audiotaped in a kindergarten in Oulu. The duration of the material is 10 hours. There were 10 children aged three and four in the taped situations. During the recordings the children were divided into two groups. Both of the groups took part in various situations: conversation situations, play situations, fairy tale situations and eating situations.

Language play

One of the most characteristic features in my data is play with language. Very frequently children are amusing themselves with language. Garvey (1977:38) says that as soon as a child has learned how something is supposed to be, then turning it upside down or distorting it in some way becomes a source of fun. This view is confirmed by my data.

In my data all the children enjoy playing with language in one way or another, but some children initiate the playing more frequently than others and some are eager to continue. There are also some children who want to play but when the playing begins to become too dangerous, frightening or impossible, they want to stop the play. So we have at least three different role-types in the playing situations.

Garvey (1977) has noticed that language provides opportunities for play at various levels of its structure (ie. phonology, grammar, semantics) and in its pragmatic or functional aspects. Even the processes of speaking or of uttering sounds or noises offer opportunities for play. Garvey has distinguished firstly play with noises and sounds and social play. Then she has distinguished three types of social play: spontaneous rhyming and word play, play with fantasy and nonsense, play with speech acts and discourse conventions.

In my material almost all the playing with language is social. Typical of the social language play of my material are descriptive words belonging to colourful language used also by adults in natural speech events. If one of the children says a nice descriptive word, it is typical that another child repeats it

in their following utterance. The common type of play with onomatopoeic words is also play with sounds.

Sometimes the play on one word is so fascinating that children will use prosodic features, so that rhythm, the lengthening of sounds, different stress patterns and intonation give variety to the word. Generally the word may also be divided into syllable sequences. During that kind of play the word may lose its meaning and is only a combination of different sounds.

Some investigators (eg. Weir 1962 and Clark 1978) have observed that young children (eg. 2-year-olds) often engage in "sound substitution drills" in which they produce sequences of rhyming sound patterns. There is, however, no particular reason to believe that this early "rhyming" involves an analysis of sound sequences into phonological units. The 2-year-old could equally well be manipulating larger (eg. syllabic) units. Further, this early spontaneous "rhyming" may well not involve children's being aware of the phonological properties of the sound sequences they are producing. That is, 2-year-olds may produce sequences of sounds that do in fact rhyme, but it is unclear that they know that *that* is what they are doing. (Hakes 1980:34.)

Hakes (1980:32) notes that being aware of the phonemic structure of spoken words or syllables appears to be beyond the capabilities of 4-year-olds and is generally, though not universally, within the capabilities of children by the time they reach the end of the first grade. Being aware of the syllabic structure of spoken words is apparently a capability that develops rather earlier.

In the following example the child bases the word play on the almost similar word shape:

Ju: oho! miten se näkkäri tuli *suusta* pois!
'How did the crispbread come out of my mouth?'

M: miten näkkäri tuli *puusta* pois!
'How did the crispbread come of of the tree?'

Language play which contains something dramatic is very popular in my data. For example, there is a long discussion about broken legs. But then also other parts of the body, an arm, a head, an ear, an eye, a teeth, even the tongue, all

begin to break and fall off. When children choose to add new words, it seems to be usual that they stay in the same semantic field all the time. The order is not always systematic: a less dramatic word may follow the most dramatic word, although there are also events in which the structure is systematically expansive.

There are also some ritual games in my material. A typical ritual game is the one in which children show with their fingers how old they are:

Ju: Taina, by the way, are you by the way so?
(Ju raises three fingers)

T: (shows three fingers)

Ju: I am too, as well.

J: so am I (laughing)

There are also differences between children with respect to the topics they choose. For example, a boy loves to change the topic or create a new topic around words which are denied or unsuitable for the topics of kindergarten conversations. The structure of turn-taking is then almost always as follows:

J: tässä erilaisia puita kasvaa.
'All kinds of trees grow here.'

Ju: erilaisia *kakkaa* kasvaa.
'All kinds of poo-poo grows here.'

T: *hihih*.

In the previous example there is almost always the same girl who is giving the supportive follow-up in the form of a laugh or giggle.

Some other features

One of the typical features of children is their unlimited imagination. The use of imagination is also a charasteristic feature of the conversations in my data. Here is one example of imaginative language use:

Ju: jos ha-, pottu, pottu, ainaski, tul-,
jos pottu tulliis mun kimppuun ja ois ihmine,
pottu niin, niin sitte tulis ja ottasiv veitten
ja sillä stops. mh. ja söisin sen.

'if a potato, potato, at least came –
and was a human being, so the potato,
so it would come, and I would take a knife
and with it stops. mh. and I would eat it.'

The children continue this discussion in a very dramatic way; all types of exaggeration seem to amuse children very much.

Many acts which are quite rare in adults' normal conversation are quite usual in children's discussion. For example it is not difficult to find turns in which the children are accusing or scorning each other - until someone changes the serious topic into eg. language play again.

Another typical feature in children's conversation is lively gesticulation and movement. It is often said that Finns are quite static when talking. However, Finnish children are not static. A child may, eg., start by telling that his father has a big belly (at the same time he shows it). Another boy continues, saying that his father has a still bigger belly (he shows the bigger belly). The next child climbs onto a chair and displays the size of her father's belly from there. Yet another child wants to say that her mother's belly is the biggest of all and she climbs onto the table to show the belly from there.

So it should be emphasized that a child's resources extend beyond the phonological and lexico-grammatical means; gesticulation and movement play a very important role in communicating his meaning intentions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Becker, Judith A. 1984. Implications of ethology for the study of pragmatic development, in Stan A. Kuczaj, II (ed.), *Discourse development: progress in cognitive development research*, New York: Springer-Verlag, 1-14.

Clark, Eve V. 1978. Awareness of language: some evidence from what children say and do, in A. Sinclair, R. J. Jarvella and W. J. M. Levelt (eds.), *The child's conception of language*, Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 17-43.

Garvey, Catherine 1977. Play with language and speech, in S. Ervin-Tripp and C. Mitchell-Kernan (eds.), *Child discourse*, New York: Academic Press, 27-47.

Hakes, David T. 1980. *The development of metalinguistic abilities in children*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

McTear, Michael 1985. *Children's conversation*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Weir, Richard 1962. *Language in the crib*. The Hague: Mouton.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE STUDY OF SIGN LANGUAGE TALK

Paul McIlvenny
University of Oulu

Introduction

The study of the organisation of conversation and discourse in general is firmly based on the analysis of the speech and writing of hearing communities. In contrast, this paper will discuss the preliminary results of an attempt to analyse the talk of the Finnish deaf signing community from the perspective of conversation analysis (CA). In reference to the foundational principles and practices of CA, the paper will discuss the practicalities of data collection, transcription and the first tentative analyses.

Background

In the 1960s, the 'gestures' of the deaf community in America were established in the academic world as forming a language that complied with all the requirements set for spoken languages. Stokoe's innovative and daring work proposed that signs could be described in terms of three parameters: location, handshape and type of movement (Stokoe 1960). Since then, much linguistic research has been undertaken, but, as yet, very little work has been conducted on the interactive organisation of everyday and natural talk of native signers. For a popular account of the development of the recognition of sign as a language and some recent events in American deaf history, see Oliver Sacks (1989). Research collections include Siple (1978), Klima & Belugi (1979), and Lucas (1989), which are mainly concerned with American sign language, while Kyle & Woll (1985) is a more cohesive collection of British sign research.

Along with many other countries, as research on home sign languages spurted after the American revelation, Finnish sign language (FiSL) became the object of linguistic attention in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1973, a major Finnish sign language picture dictionary was produced, including over 3000 signs

(*Viittomakielen kuvasanakirja* 1973). Later studies in the 1980s have concentrated on specific features of the grammar of sign - the manual gestures, modifications of the sign, use of the face, body and eyes, etc. (Rissanen 1985, Pimiä & Rissanen 1987). In response to the recent work on sign, a completely revised dictionary is currently being produced in Helsinki (Malm 1989). Unfortunately, much of the Finnish research has concentrated on the south of the country and can give the appearance of a linguistically and socially cohesive community across Finland (of approximately 6000 native deaf signers). The influence of this research on the social organisation of the deaf community and the structure of FiSL has yet to be fully explored, as has the variation of sign language across Finland.

Conversation analysis

Before discussing sign language, a brief introduction to the principles and practices of conversation analysis will follow so that the methods upon which we draw are clear. Conversation analysis (CA) is an empirical approach to the study of spoken conversation deriving from the field of ethnomethodology, which itself emerged as a reaction to traditional sociology in the 1960s (Garfinkel 1984). It is claimed that conversation is a routine and complex accomplishment carried through by almost all members of society with great skill and transparent ease. The central goal of conversation analytic research is the description and explication of the competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in senseful conversation. Meaning is not built into the codes of language as in structural accounts, nor is it to be found in the relation of cognitive representations to that which is represented. Meaning is constructed in situ by interactants who are

> simultaneously engaged in fine-grained real time co-ordination of speaking turns tracked predominantly in terms of surface structural features and... organising their actions in terms of publicly accountable normative expectations bearing on the nature and design of their turns at talk. (Heritage 1989:26.)

The early work in the 1960s has been taken up increasingly in Europe, especially in Britain, but the original pioneering work of Sacks has been generally unavailable except for a few monographs transcribed by Gail Jefferson and the original published papers. However, recently some of the transcribed

lectures have been published (Harvey Sacks 1989), and all of them will be available later in full. Useful summaries of CA can be found in Levinson (1983), Atkinson & Heritage (1984), Heritage (1984, ch. 8), and Button & Lee (1987). The classic work, much referenced and misinterpreted, is Sacks et al (1978), which was first published in 1974.

In this approach the analysis of conversations is strongly 'data-driven'. CA painstakingly studies how talk is methodically produced by members in orderly ways that exhibit that orderliness for one another. The methodology avoids the use of interviewing techniques, the use of field notes or pre-coded schedules, the use of native intuitions to invent examples, and the use of experimental manipulation or directing behaviour which may restrict the range and authenticity of the activities which are elicited. Instead, the interest is in revealing the

> organised procedures of talk as they are employed in real worldly contexts between persons in real relationships whose talk has a real consequentiality and accountability (Heritage 1989).

Some record of the phenomena is essential in order to study it in detail. However, the record must be of the details that were meaningful for the participants, and constitutive of the activities under investigation. CA has shown that audio and video tapings are adequate for investigating spoken conversation on the telephone and in copresence. A recording allows repeated viewing of the event and consequently peer group ratification of a finding. Also, an impressionistic transcription system has evolved, which is now quite complex (Psathas & Anderson 1990). For example, details of overlapping speech, particular speech production characteristics like pace and mid-phrase cutoffs, and split-second timings of pauses are notated. This renders the talk 'strange' (but readable) and thus can help expose the everyday accomplishment that is taken-for-granted.

The early interest of CA was in everyday mundane conversation, particularly on the telephone, with a parallel interest in institutional talk in comparison to the general core findings about multi-party conversations. In the last ten years, work has gradually located talk in the context of the body and other activities that participants might be engaged in. This research is still in its infancy but suggests that language, body and perception are intricately interwoven in the

interactive achievement and coordination of those practical activities (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987).

I should note at this point that I use the words 'talk', 'say', etc. to refer to the signing activities that deaf people engage in together because those are the terms that they themselves use to describe and refer to their own use of sign. Besides the translation glosses for signs that are offered, signs for some of these activities occur around the mouth region, eg. the signs glossed as SAY, ORDER, and TALK. Unfortunately, some researchers are actively constructing an analytic discourse in which the deaf community do not talk. For example:

> Conversation is not talk's sole form, but it does seem to be its most general one, composing many social scenes, leaking into others, and probably providing the source from which other forms of speech and writing derive. There is no doubt that some societies are more silent, some more terse, some more formal than others. Some communities - the deaf, for example - do not talk at all. (Moerman 1988:3.)

But rather than reserve these terms for spoken language interaction, I will use them in the broad sense of language-rich interaction in practical everyday contexts. Why should it be described in a different way? If deaf people do not converse, nor have a rich set of activities of talking, then what do they do?

In contrast to conversation analysis, discourse analytic studies of sign language have been reported in Hall (1983), Wilbur (1983), Prinz & Prinz (1985), Roy (1989) and Nowell (1989). Also, an initial analysis of features of dyadic turn-taking in sign from the perspective of signal theory has been reported in Baker (1977) and this analysis forms the backbone of almost all of the later analyses of sign discourse. It should be noted that because of the animal language controversy and the hypothesized links between gesture and the origin of language, some research even purports to study conversational interaction between chimpanzees (Fouts et al. 1984).

Issues

Most of the foundational work on conversation has focused on British or American spoken culture. Some work has been undertaken on Thai, German, Chinese, Dutch, and Japanese, for example. Also, the Finnish spoken language

has recently been subjected to analysis using these techniques by Hakulinen (1989) and others. Given the extensive work of CA on British and US talk, then what can be transferred to the study of sign rather than to the study of another spoken language?

This of course raises the tricky issue of conversational universals, just as hypothetical linguistic universals become popular with the advent of comparative linguistic descriptions of many languages. It has been claimed by Moerman (1988) that Thai conversation is organised in ways similar to American conversation with respect to the organisation of overlap and first reference to non-present persons. But the applicability of CA methods to sign conversation raises more problematic issues because of the difference in modality as well as culture. What is also relevant if one attempts to equate speech and sign is that the techniques developed for collecting, rendering and analysing spoken talk may not be appropriate for sign or may be problematic in their routine application. The remainder of this paper will consider the collection of video data, the rendering of interesting features of sign talk, and the relation of these aspects to the developing analysis of sign talk.

An issue that implicitly runs throughout our studies revolves around the competence of the analyst in the community being studied. Neither of the researchers on the study reported here were competent at sign language. Our task is much like that of the ethnographer in a strange culture, who must describe that culture as an outsider. Moerman (1988) argues that CA can help ethnography, and he illustrates it with a documentation of some aspects of Thai culture through an interactional analysis of settings of talk. We hope to follow this methodology in our studies until such time as native deaf signers take up the study of their own culture from this perspective.[1]

In summary, the theme of this paper is that very little research has been carried out on the interactional aspects of sign language in a community of signers with a distinctive deaf culture. One must not only study the language structure, but

[1] We expect that this is more likely if some research on sign language itself is undertaken in order that training and a model example is available for deaf researchers, who would not otherwise have access to training sessions involving spoken talk.

how it is constituted, maintained and used in real, practical settings that the deaf must encounter and actively construct in their community.

Data collection

Given the strong emphasis in CA on naturalistic empirical methods, data was collected by recording sign talk on video in real social settings without intervention. Our data collection began when permission was granted by the leader of the deaf community in Oulu to video in the deaf club, which is held on one weekday night every week. This social event is attended by many members of the deaf community in Oulu. None of the situations recorded were contrived or staged. However, the collection of sign talk data poses its own special problems because of visual, cultural and technical dimensions. Thus, much potentially useful data was interrupted or corrupted. The camera's directionality and field of vision posed problems for the consistent recording of the events. Peripheral or unengaged people often crossed the path of the camera lens or blocked out other participants. Also, participants may move to positions that are hard to contain within the scope of the view-finder whilst maintaining the whole group in sight as well.

Also, many recordings contain only brief fragments from longer engagements whose trajectory was only to be found in just prior activity or the prior activities of the whole group, neither of which had been recorded. We found ourselves with records of many fleeting instances of sign talk rather than a stable grouping of two or three signers engaged around a dinner table or on the telephone. This was not expected nor encouraged. It is a dynamic that we came across in the setting encountered. We went to see if we could pick up some natural examples of sign conversation from within the setting, but found instances of previously unnoticed phenomena occurring within unplanned participation frameworks.

After a few sessions it suddenly became obvious that not only was participation continually changing and shifting but that access to these interactional dynamics was not too problematic. The videoing of these events was not planned out beforehand; it developed as a result of the contingencies of doing it at the time. Thus we brought two cameras to the social gathering and both filmed what was

interesting at the time. If we had been recording a similar social gathering in the hearing world, the methods and resulting interests would have been quite different. For example, Goodwin (1981) describes his data collection practices. In regard to capturing speech, he pre-positioned microphones at various locations which were unintrusive. These techniques pose certain constraints on what is acceptable data and the scope of analytic interests as well. However, in the deaf club we found that because sign talk is constituted almost wholly in a visual-spatial world, we could record phenomena that are normally unavailable to the analyst of spoken talk without intrusive practices. For example, in a spoken gathering the tracking of talk within the space occupied and the procuring of intelligible records would require mobile and intrusive microphones that would clearly pick up the relevant speech of the participants out of the general hubbub of the gathering. But, in the deaf club the phenomena are available on video, which is not so 'unnaturally' intrusive. By this I mean that many of the members of the club have video cameras, often they film at the deaf club or on other occasions, the filming takes place at a distance; thus, the manner in which filming was undertaken by us is similar to their own methods. However, microphone tracking is not so common among the lay public. Of course, the visibility of filming and the sensitivity of signers to the public space around them could mean that the camera was more intrusive than expected. This has yet to be determined, but initial observations suggest that signers are often conscious of the camera, but equally, on other occasions, the behaviour of participants or those in the vicinity is not in accord with a display of acknowledgement of camera rights, eg. a bystander moving out of the way, staying in a visible position, etc.

Thus, we found that we recorded and then began to systematically record groups of signers in ways that we would not have entertained for groups of speakers. Now the analysis of the relation of talk to the physical and bodily activities of the group was at least a faint possibility, if not feasible. For example, we could record signers who were at a great distance apart, mobile groups, the unhindered to-ing and fro-ing of participants between 'focused' engagements within the gathering. Our activities were guided by the selection of interesting looking engagements or spaces and the tracking of the relevant features or participants of an event through its course. If we had restricted our interest for practical reasons to dyadic interaction or had constructed settings within which 'natural' talk was to be elicited, eg. getting two participants to

converse at a prearranged time and place, the everyday constitution of talk and the features noted above would have been unavailable.

It became apparent in the analyses that interpretation of the signing was dependent on the quality of the image, the recording distance from the signers, the focusing range, and the monitor size. The interpreter found it hard to determine the quality of a sign or the sign itself from the play-back. Only later did we modify our practices to engage in team filming, and thus obtain two views on the same talk activity, which provided better quality close-up images. For videoing the visual aspects of the production of spoken talk, Goodwin had mounted the camera on a trolley and selected shots of participants as groups or close-up shots of individuals. Our method was to roam as a team using handheld cameras recording the participants from views that would allow the systematic details of their conduct to be recovered at a later date.

Transcription

When moving from the visual record to the transcription of interesting features of the conduct of signers, we find a problem because the deaf community has no natural writing system on which to draw upon, and also researchers have not yet agreed upon a uniform and comprehensive notation. Quite a few systems are currently being developed, some with analytic interests at heart (Prillwitz et al. 1989) and some aimed at general purpose use (McIntire et al. 1987, Sutton 1990).

The difficulties in developing a suitable impressionistic notation system are manifold. If it is to be based on a natural writing system, and preferably an alphabetic one which relates to features of the production of a language, then we are in trouble. Writing systems for spoken languages have the benefit of several thousand years of cultural history. In the West we are painstakingly enculturated into the alphabetic writing system with its different orthographies and scripts at an early age. But because of the nature and history of sign language an alphabetic writing system is not so easy to tailor. A simplified account that borrows the vocabulary of traditional linguistics without criticism may indicate why this is so from a linguistic rather than a social or political point of view.

It is often claimed that all spoken languages contain meaningful units made out of sequential groupings of a reasonably limited set of meaningless contrastive sounds or phonemes - from 11 to over 100 depending on the language - with allophonic variations. Leaning heavily on this phonological feature, an alphabetic writing system and a range of cultural practices have been developed such that spoken words in many languages can be written down given the human capacity to do so, ie. alphabetic orthographies relate to phonological structures of a language, though historical contingencies may corrupt the purity of the relationship. It is claimed that signs, however, are made up 'phonologically' of large numbers of meaningless manual 'cheremes', with much 'allophonic' variation, that form simultaneous bundles, though sequential features are also present in some signs; in addition, there are many non-manual features such as eye gaze, body position, mouth and facial movements which are intrinsic to some signs. It appears that sign languages that have been studied are foremostly made up of a very great number of minimally contrastive cheremes that have yet to be fully determined. These are visibly articulated simultaneously to form meaningful signs. Note that in speech, however, the articulatory apparatus is largely hidden from view, except for lip, tongue and facial movements and their visibility is not required to understand the language.

I believe that though the accounts above are primitive and suspect (cf. Coulmas 1989), they can help us to understand the difficulty in developing a viable orthography of sign, especially if we try to adopt wholesale the techniques developed for spoken languages. A way to think of the difficulty is as follows. In spoken language the sequences of phonemes relate in a complex way to hearable words, whereas in sign language the cheremic bundles predominantly make up the visible sign itself. Each chereme in sign is a primitive element which combines simultaneously with others to form signs, whereas in spoken languages it is the bundle of articulatory elements - a phoneme - that is the primitive element which combines in sequences to form words. All spoken languages can be described in this way and thus the alphabetic system is potentially applicable to all, though it is more appropriate for some languages than others. To dare mention a parallel to speech in sign language: if we map the phonological organisation of speech onto sign, most signs would involve the production of sequences of units drawn from a limited set of meaningless bundles. Alternatively, if we map the organisation of sign onto speech, all

hearably distinct simultaneous articulations of articulatory features would encompass the majority of words in that hypothetical language. No spoken language in the world has yet been discovered to have this feature, ie. instead they can all be reasonably described in terms of sequential groupings of a small number of hearably distinct phonemes. This is one reason why a comparable alphabetic system is difficult to develop by analogy with spoken languages because no similar-form spoken language exists from which we can draw a parallel. Of course, it would be possible to have a pictographic or a pleremic system - a script which operates principally on lexical or morphological levels, eg. Chinese - but it would be nice to have a written form that affords the same advantages for a community as the alphabet or a cenemic script - on phonological and phonetic levels - does, eg. compatible with technology, learnable, economic and giving a good correspondence between signs and graphemes.[2]

In summary, it is a historical fact that a writing system for sign language has no precedent and the linguistic analysis of sign languages is in its infancy. Thus it is not at all obvious what features of any, let alone a particular sign language, could be relevant or essential to include in a system that is based on some linguistic properties of sign language, eg. phonological or morphological. Ultimately, a new set of cultural and technical practices for writing sign language down will have to be developed within the deaf community itself, as hinted at by Coulmas (1989:43): "Whenever illiterate peoples wanted to write, they usually borrowed the written language of a neighbouring people. Only gradually did bilingual individuals grasp the possibility of writing their own mother tongue, too".

Returning to the issue at hand, the premise of Jefferson's system (Psathas & Anderson 1990) in conversation analysis is that an impressionistic notation using standard or pseudo-phonetic orthography is readable by lay people who can read English. This is not currently a valid premise for sign language

[2] I am not quite sure if a case can be made for the economy of sequential patterns over simultaneous articulation at the phonological level in respect to the development of an alphabetic system of writing - ie. that sequential patterns allow a more limited set of meaningless units to be put to work combinatorially than with the simultaneous articulation of obligatory sets of units. Anyway, the user of a writing system has other interests - than isomorphism - which dictate a different sort of economy.

research for the reasons given above. An additional complication is that because there is not yet a natural sign writing system used within any deaf community in the world, then all research must be reported and circulated in a foreign language - Finnish or English in our case - that is not so easily available to the native community for comment or development.[3]

Analyses

Our analyses are currently tentative and cursory. We proceed slowly because of the need to check every step as there is no background of validated and accepted sign language research on which to draw. In addition, we must work with and through a native signing interpreter - an expensive and time-consuming process - and the deaf community. The main principle though is that analyses will proceed from a rich stock of natural data and they will not be dictated solely by preordained goals. Our findings will arise from close attention to the video recordings. Interesting phenomena are revealed and thus become the focus of more detailed and comprehensive analyses. A sketch of some of our interests will follow, but a detailed analysis with examples and transcriptions will appear in a forthcoming paper.

One particular vein that is developing is based around the classic work of CA, namely the systematics of speech exchange in spoken talk, or turn-taking. It is obvious that deaf signers must organise their participation in sign talk activities, but is it organised in the same way as for spoken conversation? Turn-taking is a pervasive phenomena in any speech exchange system, and can also be found in any interactional activity in which turns at participating must be coordinated. CA has investigated this phenomenon and found regularities in the way in which people achieve the orderly distribution of turns-at-talk. CA proposes that turn-taking operates on a turn-by-turn basis organising the transition to next speaker with the materials at hand. The system provides a motivation for organising conversation, so that only one speaker speaks at a time. Overlap does occur but it is an ordered phenomenon explicable in terms of orientation to the rule set.

[3] It is of course possible to disseminate the research results in video form with signed documentation but this is not valid for the hearing community at present and lacks some of the advantages of the written form.

It has become clear from our data that the organisation of turn-taking in sign talk is complex and predicated on the creation and maintenance of mutual monitoring in copresence that endogenously informs the turn-taking. Unlike spoken talk, signers must look at each other in order to 'follow' one another, and thus it must be explained why it is that speakers and hearers in sign talk often are not looking at each other. In larger groups than dyads, participants often have distributed access to the participatory actions and activities of others, and this has an effect on the constitution of turn-taking and participation frameworks. In speech, verbal overlap or backchannel activity is invariably a mutually monitorable event, hearable by those present (with degrees of volume, awareness, recognition and directional perception) at one and the same time. Mutual orientation is implicated by and displayed within the turn-taking system. But in sign talk, simultaneity of signing by different speakers does not guarantee overlap nor unanimous orientation to possible overlap (even in dyadic talk) - overlap is revealed as a phenomenon requiring multi-party focused attention which can only be oriented to if noticed, and it may not be noticed by all. Thus participants may discover at a later time that a turn has been or is in progress that may have co-occurred with their or anothers turn. A mutually ratified floor must be continually addressed, and attending to each other requires lots of explicit work, such as tapping, waving, use of vibration, as well as sign onset. It appears that these constraints and resources result in a different organisation of turn-taking from spoken talk. The turn-taking system must be predicated on the coordination and management of mutual monitoring, and possibly on the visibility and spatial configurations of the participants themselves.

Another interesting line of analysis, which was brought out in the thoughts on data collection, is concerned with mobile engagements or gatherings with constantly changing focused engagements. It is clear that much talk is conducted in both the hearing and deaf worlds in many situations which are not like two party 'focused' face-to-face conversations. What percentage of our lives is spent in each pursuit is maybe not determinable, but it is surely not satisfactory to preclude the relevance of these other situations just for practical reasons. Heath (1986:175) mentions the problem of the analysis of visual aspects of large group activities, eg. meetings, classrooms, because of the small scope of the camera technology to include sufficiently detailed images of the event. Besides this there are other reasons why there is no research on large group

dynamics with respect to talk, eg. in parties, meetings, and that is because of the technical difficulties in recording and tracking the speech of mobile and disparate groups adequately. Much talk occurs in the hubbub of other activities that potentially impinge on the construction of that talk, either conversational or incipient talk in the context of a primary other activity. In respect to sign talk, it is hoped that analyses of small focused engagements in the context of a larger gathering will be able to be developed from the data.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed some sketchy thoughts resulting from the first attempts to analyse natural sign conversation from the perspective of conversation analysis. Ultimately, the study of sign language will not only reproduce the findings of studies of spoken language and reveal phenomena peculiar to sign, but it will also yield new perspectives on language use in activity which are difficult to capture in speech environments. Much can be learned about linguistic prejudice, the inadequacies of conversational models, and the creativity of situated language users from such a study.

Acknowledgements

This work has been conducted with Pirkko Raudaskoski, and it was only possible with the kind assistance of the deaf community and also those hearing people who come into contact with that community. Special thanks are due to Oulu deaf club, Sirpa Suomela and Anne Hämäläinen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Atkinson, J. & J. Heritage (eds.) 1984. *Structures of social action: studies in conversation analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baker, C. 1977. Regulators and turn-taking in American sign language discourse, in Friedman (ed.), *On the other hand*, New York: Academic Press.

Button, G. & J. Lee (eds.) 1987. *Talk and social organisation.* Avon: Multilingual Matters.

Coulmas, F. 1989. *The writing systems of the world*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Fouts, R.S. et al. 1984. Sign language conversational interaction between chimpanzees, *Sign Language Studies* 42, 1-12.

Garfinkel, H. 1984 (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goodwin, C. 1981. *Conversational organisation: interaction between speakers and hearers*. New York: Academic Press.

Goodwin, C. & M. Goodwin 1987. Concurrent operations on talk: notes on the interactive organisation of assessments, *IPRA Papers in Pragmatics* 1, 1, 1-54.

Hakulinen, A. (ed.) 1989. *Kieli 4: suomalaisen keskustelun keinoja I*. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Hall, S. 1983. Train-gone-sorry: the etiquette of social conversations in American sign language, *Sign Language Studies* 41, 291-309.

Heath, C. 1986. *Body movement and speech in medical interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, J. 1984. *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Heritage, J. 1989. Current developments in conversation analysis, in D. Roger & P. Bull (eds.), *Conversation*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 21-47.

Klima, E. & U. Bellugi 1979. *The signs of language*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Kyle, J.G. & B. Woll 1985. *Sign language: the study of deaf people and their language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levinson, S. C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McIntire, M., D. Newkirk, S. Hutchins & H. Poizner 1987. Hands and faces: a preliminary inventory for written ASL, *Sign Language Studies* 56, 197-241.

Malm, A. 1989. On sign language lexicography, *SKY* 89.

Moerman, M. 1988. *Talking culture: ethnography and conversation analysis*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.

Nowell, E. 1989. Conversational features and gender in ASL, in C. Lucas (ed.), *The sociolinguistics of the deaf community*, New York: Academic Press.

Pimiä, P. & T. Rissanen 1987. *Kolme kirjoitusta viittomakielestä*. Department of General Linguistics Pub. No. 17. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Prillwitz, S. et al. 1989. *Hamburg notation system for sign languages: an introductory guide.* Hamburg: Signum Press.

Prinz, P. M. & E. A. Prinz 1985. If only you could hear what I see: discourse development in sign language, *Discourse Processes* 8, 1-19.

Psthas, G. & T. Anderson 1990. The 'practices' of transcription in conversation analysis, *Semiotica* 78, 1/2, 75-99.

Rissanen, T. 1985. *Viittomakielen perusrakenne.* Department of General Linguistics Pub. No. 12. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Roy, C.B. 1989. Features of discourse in an American sign language lecture, in C. Lucas (ed.), *The sociolinguistics of the deaf community,* New York: Academic Press.

Sacks, Harvey 1989. Special issue edited by Gail Jefferson on Harvey Sacks in *Human Studies* 12.

Sacks, Oliver 1989. *Seeing voices.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Sacks, H., E. Schegloff & G. Jefferson 1978. A simplest systematics for the organisation of turn taking for conversation, in Schenkein (ed.), *Studies in the organisation of conversational interaction* 1, New York: Academic Press, 7-55.

Siple, P. (ed.) 1978. *Understanding sign language through sign language research.* New York: Academic Press.

Stokoe, W. C. 1960. *Sign language structure: an outline of the visual communication system of the American deaf.* Studies in Linguistics Occasional Paper 8. University of Buffalo.

Sutton, V. 1990. *Lessons in sign writing.* La Jolla, Ca.: The Deaf Action Committee for Sign Writing.

Viittomakielen kuvasanakirja 1988 (1973, 1977). Helsinki: Kuurojen Liitto r.y.

Wilbur, R. B. 1983. Discourse structure in American sign language conversations, *Discourse Processes* 6, 225-241.

INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN FINNISH LIVE ICE HOCKEY REPORTING: AN ANSWER TO TOMLIN (1983)

Juhani Hiirikoski
Savonlinna School of Translation Studies

The purpose of the article

The purpose of this article is to investigate how the grammatical and semantic structures of the Finnish clause limit its possibilities for expressing information structure. The article aims at discovering whether there is a correlation between the semantic structure of the sentence and the possibility of using the inverted word order for introducing new referents to the text, or whether there is free variation in the choice between the direct word order and the inverted one (cf. Filppula 1982:71). Regularities will be sought first in one text type, Finnish live television ice hockey reporting. The results will then be compared to those obtained by Tomlin (1983) and to results from other text types. The article presents data indicating that in some cases the semantic structure of the sentence rather than the information structure determines the word order.

The theoretical framework of the study is the three-level syntax proposed by Danes (1964) and Halliday (eg. 1985:53). The three levels are grammatical structure (Halliday's interpersonal), semantic structure, and the organization of utterance, which we will provisionally call thematic structure. Another level, information structure, will be added later. Information structure is independent of language. This article deals with the interaction of information structure and thematic structure, of thematic and semantic structure, and the possibilities that the grammatical structure gives for the thematic structure.

On the syntactic level we will concentrate on three grammatical complements of the verb. These may be obligatory or facultative (see Tarvainen 1983:3-7). Complements which the verb requires for its complementation, without which the clause would be ungrammatical, are obligatory. Facultative complements can be left out without making the clause ungrammatical: the clause is incomplete, but the context makes it clear what the missing complement is. The

elliptical complement contains information assumed by the commentator to be clear from the context, and if he were asked to specify the missing complement, he could not answer 'I don't know' (cf. the dialogue test of Panevova 1978:228). As examples, consider dialogues in (1-3). In these the (i) versions of the second line by A do not form a continuous dialogue.

(1) A: Summanen. Antaa taaksepäin.
'Summanen. Gives backwards'
B: Gives what?
A: (i) *I don't know (ii) The puck

(2) A: ei lähde Lindfors vielä.
'No Lindfors doesn't leave yet'
B: Leave what?
A: (i) *I don't know (ii) The ice

(3) A: Ja näin tulee Kron.
'And so comes Kron'
B: Where to?
A: (i) *I don't know (ii) Into the Finnish zone

Clause (3), for instance, has been considered syntactically equivalent to (4-5), in which the locative complement is present.

(4) Ja ylös nousee Tirkkonen.
'And up goes Tirkkonen'

(5) Sitten lähtee Jalo ylös.
'Then goes Jalo up'

The term 'complement' will be used in this article to refer both to obligatory and facultative complements. Optional complements are discarded.

Every clause in the data has the subject, the most important grammaticalized element of the clause. The meaning of the subject is that its referent is the participant considered by the speaker to be the one who has most control over the event indicated by the verb (cf. Comrie 1981:111, also Lakoff 1977:248-249). Besides the subject, two-place verbs take either an object or an oblique. The referent of the object is the participant most affected by the event, the referent of the oblique is the participant less affected by the event, but which is still important from the point of view of the information structure (cf. Givon 1984:154, 174). In the present corpus the oblique is an adverbial of place,

indicating either a place where the referent of the subject is situated, or towards/from which it is moving, or a person having the possession of the referent of the subject, or to/from whom it is moving (that is, it corresponds to the dative or indirect object in English). Three-place verbs take all three complements. The complements are defined syntactically (cf. eg. Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979:163-166, 172-188).

The syntactic variable investigated is the place of these three complements relative to each other, that is, the word order, and how it is used for the purposes of information structure. We will concentrate on the use of the inverted word order. To begin with, we could define the direct word order as one having the subject as the theme, and inverted word order as one having the subject in a rhematic position.

Halliday (1985:38-39) defines the theme as "the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that with which the clause is concerned". We could follow Halliday (1985:54-56) and define the theme as the first complement of the sentence. This would divide two-place clauses nicely into two parts, the rheme beginning from the finite verb:

(6) kiekon sitten taas korjasi Saarinen.
puck then again took Saarinen
'The puck is then again taken by Saarinen'
theme rheme

(7) Ruotanen pitää kiekkoa.
Ruotanen keeps the puck
theme rheme

(8) Mitä tekee Summanen?
'What does Summanen?'
theme rheme

(9) Järvinen. Etsii Keskistä, joka kuitenkin Stavjanan takana.
'Järvinen. Looking for Keskinen, who is unfortunately behind Stavjana'.
theme theme rheme theme rheme

(10) Sieltä nousee Lumme.
'From there comes Lumme'
theme rheme

Three-place clauses would normally have two complements in the rhematic position:

(11) Ruotanen nappaa häneltä kiekon.
'Ruotanen takes from him the puck'
theme rheme 1 rheme 2

In the following clauses, however, there are two complements before the verb, both of which could be themes, if theme is defined as "what the sentence is about".

(12) Jolta kiekon nappaa tällä kertaa Hascak.
From whom the puck took this time Hascak
'From whom the puck is taken this time by Hascak.
theme 1 theme 2 rheme

(13) Keskinen häntä ahdistaa.
Keskinen him checks
'Keskinen is checking him'
theme 1 theme 2

(14) Suomen alueelta saa sen sitten itselleen, keskialueelle
'From the Finnish zone (he) gets it to himself, into the neutral zone'
theme 1 (elliptical theme 2)
rheme 1 rheme 2

Instead of Halliday's positional definition - the first element of the sentence - we adopt a somewhat wider definition of the theme. The finite verb divides the clause into two parts (cf. Firbas 1987:35). The complements before the verb are themes and the complements after the verb are rhemes.

It is not, however, sufficient to define the inverted word order as one having the subject in the rhematic position. For instance, in (15) the subject occurs after the verb, but there is still another complement after it. Only (16) has the inverted word order, because there the subject is the rheme proper.

(15) Ja tältä nappaa Mikkolainen, nopea luistelija kiekon.
'And from him takes Mikkolainen, a fast skater, the puck'
theme rheme 1 rheme 2

(16) Kiekon hakee päädystä Jalo.
'The puck is fetched from the end of the rink by Jalo'
theme rheme 1 rheme 2

The inverted word order is here defined as one in which the subject follows the verb and acts as the rheme proper, that is, it is the latter if there are two rhemes. In Finnish the inverted word order is used for moving the subject into rhematic position.

Theme and rheme are syntactic categories which can be defined formally. The speaker chooses what he considers to be the theme of the clause. There is, however, another level which is independent of the language, the information structure. The distinction between given and new information belongs on this level. Given information can be defined without reference to the actual language data examined, and it is not what the speaker has chosen to represent as given, as in Halliday (1985:277-278). Below we will present a hierarchy proposed by Tomlin (1983) for what he considers given information in live TV ice hockey reporting. A few additions will be made to the given referents, and the preceding text will be taken into consideration by adapting the concept of referential distance proposed by Givon (1983:13).

The relationship between thematic structure and information structure is that the theme usually codes given information (Halliday 1985:278). The theme can, however, code also new information: information structure consists of an obligatory new element and an optional given (Halliday 1985:275).

On the semantic level we will use semantic roles derived from Fillmore's (1968) case grammar. The roles are as follows (abbreviations used for the roles are given in parentheses):

Agent (AG): A player who volitionally causes a change in the game situation. Usually he hits the puck, attacks another player or moves the puck and/or himself to another place for strategic purposes.

Author (ATH): A player who is doing something that is not significant from the point of view of the game. No special purpose can be discerned and his action has no intended result (cf. Talmy 1976:85-88). This role includes players skating in the rink who do not have the puck and who are not pursuing it. Unlike the puck, they move of their own initiative. They are potential agents.

Beneficiary (BE): A player who has, gets, or loses the puck (dative in Fillmore 1968:24, goal in Fillmore 1971:42).

Neutral (NE): the object of an agent's action, that which is caused to change location, or to which something happens. This role includes the puck being situated somewhere, the moving puck, the puck hit, or a player attacked, and goals scored (objective in Fillmore 1968:25).

Locative (LO): A place in the rink in which the puck or a player can be situated.

The most important features of the semantic roles are volition, which distinguishes the agent from the other cases, causation, which distinguishes the agent and the author from the other cases, and humaness, which distinguishes locatives from the other cases. In addition, beneficiaries and locatives can occur in two kinds of clauses, static and dynamic. In static clauses they denote the place where something is (states), in dynamic clauses they denote the place to which or from which something is moving (goal and source in Fillmore 1971: 41), or the place where somebody is doing something (events and activities, cf. Lee 1973). The plus sign (+) in front of a BE or a LO will be used in this article to indicate that the role is directional (ie., it is either goal or source); a BE or a LO without the plus sign is stative (ie, location 'at'). Table 1 shows the distinguishing features in the semantic cases.

Table 1. The distinguishing features in the semantic cases.

	volition	causation	humaness	directionality
Ag	+	+	+	-
Ath	-	+	+	-
Be	-	-	+	+/-
Ne	-	-	+/-	-
Lo	-	-	-	+/-

According to Tomlin (1983:420), in live TV ice hockey reporting there are two salient features, centers of attention which can be considered given, the puck and the players, of which the puck is the more salient. But the most salient feature in the game is a player with the puck, and a reference to him can be considered to be the most given to the viewer. For example, the clauses in the

following text fragment analysed by Tomlin behave as predicted by the hierarchy:

Quick pass ahead to Errol Thompson, trying to work past Lapointe, it came back to Polonich. Polonich never got the shot away, checked by Lapointe.

The first clause encodes the puck as the subject because the puck is more salient than the player without the puck (*Thompson*). The second clause encodes *Thompson* as its subject, because the player with the puck is more salient than the player without the puck (*Lapointe*). The third clause is like the first. The fourth clause encodes the player with the puck (*Polonich*) as its subject, because he is more salient than the puck. The fifth clause encodes the player with the puck as its subject (*Polonich*), because he is more salient than the player without the puck (*Lapointe*) (Tomlin 1983:421-422). The fifth clause contains the agentive passive, which is a grammatical device that places the most given referent at the beginning of the clause. To sum up, Tomlin's (1983:420; 1986:47) hierarchy of thematic information for the choice of the English subjects is: player with puck > puck > player without puck > other.

Tomlin (1983:412) concludes that the subject in English encodes primarily given information, secondarily the semantic role of agent. In a later publication, Tomlin (1986:4-5) discusses two universal functional principles that determine word order. These are the Theme First Principle (hence Given First Principle) and the Animated First Principle. The latter principle consists of two components: (a) the referent of the NP is animate (hence Animated First Principle) and (b) the semantic role of the NP is agent, animate volitional instigator of the event (hence Agent First Principle) (Tomlin 1986:103-105). The former principle is the more important for English in general (Tomlin 1986:50).

As stated above, Tomlin (1983:422) refers to the agentive passive, and in fact most linguists see the primary motivation for the use of the agentive passive as maintaining the word order that reflects information structure (see eg. Siewierska 1984:218-230. For the opposite view, that information structure cannot explain the use of the agentive passive, see Beedham 1982:34-43). Finnish, being a free word order language, differs from English in its grammatical structure in not requiring the subject to occur initially. The subject can also occur postverbally in the inverted word order, corresponding to the English agentive passive

semantic (and grammatical) roles

=

=

=

theme (first position: 'what the sentence is about')

=

=

=

information structure: given/new information

Figure 1. Summary of the theoretical framework

(see examples 6, 12, 16). Thus Tomlin's rule could be given for Finnish as follows: the theme encodes primarily given information, secondarily agents.

The purpose of this article is to show that Tomlin's hierarchy does not hold for the Finnish data. Instead, the Agent First - sometimes even the Animated First Principle - often overrules the Given First Principle. That is, in Finnish there are two principles affecting the choice of the theme (see Figure 1). The power of these principles varies in different text types.

Tomlin's hierarchy accounts for about 98% of his data: exceptions are few and they involve a longer delay between the observation of the event by the commentator and its reporting (1983:423). As stated earlier, the Finnish grammatical device corresponding to the English agentive passive is generally considered to be the use of the inverted word order (cf. eg. Ihalainen 1980). This is a natural assumption since the word order in Finnish is relatively free, and in such languages there is in neutral cases a tendency to use the word order for the purposes of information structure. These assumptions, however, have not been based on empirical studies. As an example, let us take a reference to Tomlin (1983) made by Shore (1986:78). She uses the sentence *Laroche is checked by Lapointe* as an example of the use of the English agentive passive for expressing information structure. She gives the use of the inverted word order as the corresponding Finnish device and translates the example as *Larochen estää Lapointe*. This is a possible clause in Finnish, of course, but as will become clear

below, it is not very likely to occur in the actual live reporting. The only empirically based comparative study that I am aware of is Rautala (1978), whose results show that the use of the inverted word order as an equivalent of the English agentive passive is not as self-evident as has been assumed.

However, there are cases in my corpus in which the inverted word order is used as predicted by Tomlin's hierarchy. In the following examples the inverted word order is used for fronting the more salient puck or the player with the puck and postponing the less salient player without the puck[1].

(17) Kucera. Jonka hoiti Lumme, kiekon sitten taas korjasi Saarinen.
'Kucera. Who is taken care of by Lumme. The puck is then again taken by Saarinen.'

(18) Ruuttu. Jolta kiekon nappaa tällä kertaa Hascak.
'Ruuttu. From whom the puck is taken this time by Hascak.'

(19) Kiekon hakee päädystä Jalo. Ja taistelee sen itselleen. Risto Jalolla, ollut hyvä päivä tänään.
'The puck is fetched from the end by Jalo. And he fights to keep it. Risto Jalo has had a good day today.'

However, Tomlin's hierarchy predicts the word order of the Finnish transitive sentences only in 26.0% of the cases. In the majority of the cases the theme position is taken by a reference to a player without the puck and not by a reference to the puck. Clauses (20-22) are examples of this. Note especially (22), in which both the player with the puck and the puck are rhematic, while the player without the puck is thematic.

---

[1] The inverted word order has also another function. It can express contrast, as in the following:

> Ja tuota tilannetta ei torjunut Tammi, siihen tuli puolustaja kiekon eteen, joka sitten joutuu ontumaan vaihtoon.
> 'And it was not Tammi (the goalie) who stopped the shot, but there came a defenseman in front of the puck, and he is limping to the players' benches'

Cases like this were few in the data and they were discarded.

(20) Vuori taistelee kiekon omalle hyökkäysalueelleen
'Vuori fights the puck to his own attacking zone'

(21) Ja tältä nappaa Mikkolainen, nopea luistelija kiekon.
'And from him takes Mikkolainen, a fast skater, the puck'

(22) Ruotanen nappaa häneltä kiekon.
'Ruotanen takes from him the puck'

Besides, Tomlin's hierarchy says nothing about intransitive clauses, ie., players in relation to locations (clauses like 2-5).

The text type

Live TV ice hockey reporting was chosen as one of the text types (for the others, see Hiirikoski 1991), because it represents theme choices in unplanned speech (cf. Ochs 1979). The theme in reporting can be considered as the first thing that comes to the commentator's mind, it is the point of departure for the message (cf. Allerton & Cruttenden 1978:176). For the speaker, it is both the starting point for the organization of the clause and the initial attentional focus; for the listener, it is the first element to attract attention (MacWhinney 1977:152-155). Structures used in reporting are also simple (cf. Tomlin 1983:419), and the results obtained will be compared to those obtained from the other text types.

The data consists of the TV transmission by the Finnish broadcasting company of the match between Finland and Czechoslovakia on April 17, 1990. The commentator was Antero Karapalo. There was another commentator, Juhani Tamminen. He did not, however, comment on the events of the game as they were happening, but was consulted by Antero Karapalo as an expert. Because Tamminen commented on what had already happened, he had more time to think about what he wanted to say, and his speech was less unplanned than that of the main commentator, Karapalo (cf. Tomlin 1985:98). Because of this Tamminen's part of the reporting was excluded from the data.

Attention was paid only to the order of complements; intonation was not considered. Only pauses have been marked. The full stop means a clear pause (one second or longer) preceded by falling intonation. The comma marks a shorter pause without clear falling intonation.

Occurrence of different clause types in reporting: how the events of the game are described

Tomlin's hierarchy deals only with transitive clauses. In his examples he has intransitive clauses, for example *Now Shutt coming out, into the Detroit zone* (1983:425), but these are not dealt with systematically. Tomlin states that the hierarchy accounts for the subjects of intransitive clauses by default: there is only one possible NP choice for the subject, because locative phrases cannot be made subjects (Tomlin 1983:431). Locative phrases can, however, be made themes in Finnish, so they have to be taken into account as well.

The clauses in the data have been divided into two groups, transitive and intransitive. Transitive clauses express a relationship between two entities in which the first (the subject) manipulates the other (the object). Intransitive clauses do not involve manipulation of an object. They express a relationship between an entity (the subject) and a location (the oblique). The referent of the subject either is in some place or moves to a place. If the surface structure has a semantically obligatory complement missing (ie., a facultative actant, see Tarvainen 1983:5), it has been added to the clause (unlike Tomlin 1983:431). Thus in the following clause pairs, for example, both clauses are considered to belong to the same group, even though the (b) versions miss one of the complements.

(23a) Stavjana, jättää kiekon Hrdinalle.
'Stavjana, leaves the puck to Hrdina'

(23b) Saarinen, jättää Lumpeelle,
'Saarinen, leaves to Lumme'

(24a) Keskinen häntä ahdistaa.
'Keskinen is checking him'
(24b) Keskinen ahdistaa.
'Keskinen is checking'

(25a) hyvin tulee Rautio esiin,
'well comes Rautio forward'
(25b) Ja näin tulee Kron.
'And so comes Kron'

Some verbs have been regarded as incorporating the object (cf. Cook's 1979:82-covert case roles); example (26), for instance, incorporates the object 'the game', and is thus considered transitive.

(26) Ja hyvin pelaa Jalo.
'and well plays Jalo'

Of course, there are cases where it is diffiult to tell whether a given elliptical clause is transitive or locative. Clause (26), for example, could also be considered an elliptical locative clause and thus intransitive ('In that situation Jalo plays well'). Elliptical clauses like these are, however, rare.

The classification is based on surface case forms. Use of an oblique case marking has been considered to code less affected entities than use of the object case markings (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980). Thus all clauses having a locative case form (other than the subject or object case, ie., oblique) in their second complement have been regarded as locative (intransitive), even though these clauses may in fact express semantically transitive relations. Consider, for example, clause (27). According to Tarvainen's (1977:27-29, 1983:33) proform test the complement *kiekkoon* 'to the puck' is the object and not an adverbial of place despite its locative case form, because it takes the illative form *siihen* of the demonstrative pronoun *se* 'it' (see Karlsson 1983: 121-122) as its proform and not the adverb *sinne* 'there'.

(27) Keskinen. *Ei pääse kiekkoon.*
Keskinen. Not get to the puck
'Keskinen. Does not reach the puck'

Verb groups consisting of a finite verb followed by a verb in the 3rd infinitive illative form, exemplified by (28-29), have been classified as combinations of a verb and an adverbial of place, and thus intransitive, like the structurally similar *pääsee kaupunkiin* 'gets to town', and not as a combination of an auxiliary and a transitive main verb. (See Karlsson 1983:162-163.)

(28) Ruotanen Reichelia vastaan, tämä *pääsee yrittämään* syöttöä,
'Ruotanen to block Reichel, who gets to try a pass'

(29) *Auttamaan tulee* joukkueemme kapteeni Ruotanen.
'To help comes the captain of our team, Ruotanen'

The combinations of the copula *olla* 'to be' followed by a verb in the 3rd infinitive inessive form, exemplified by (30-32), have been classified in the same way (see Karlsson 1983:161). This construction corresponds in many cases to the English progressive structure *to be doing* (Markkanen 1979:65). The inessive case affix *-ssa/ä* corresponds to the English preposition *in*.

(30) Jota taklaamassa Keskinen.
'Who is being tackled by Keskinen'

(31) Hän oli hieman liian kärkkäästi käymässä kiekkoon,
'He was reaching for the puck a little bit too eagerly'

(32) ketään ei ole häiritsemässä
'There is nobody checking him'

As stated above, these have been classified as intransitive locatives on the basis of their form. Markkanen (1979:65-67) has stated that this construction also has a connotation of locality as a part of its meaning, but this interpretation is rejected by Heinämäki (1981). Thus their form is intransitive, although they may be semantically transitive. Here they have been assumed to behave more according to their form than their meaning.

Besides the two main classes, the intransitive and the transitive, there are three other classes. Two of these have been grouped under class C in Table 2. One of these is the class of equatives (Halliday 1967:67), containing the copula *olla* 'to be', as in *Ja mies joka kaatuu yhdessä hänen kanssaan on Pekka Laksola, Tappara ja Tampere* 'And the man who falls with him is Pekka Laksola, from Tappara, Tampere'. The other is the class of nominalizations. This class has two subgroups. In the first group a clause expressing what a player is doing is nominalized into a subject of another clause; for example, *Simo Saarisen laukaus nousee liiaksi* 'Simo Saarinen's shot rises too high' consists of two propositions: 'Saarinen shoots' and 'The shot rises too high'. In the second group there is no finite verb: *Lumpeen laukaus* 'Lumme's shot', *Hyvä syöttö Summaselle* 'A good pass to Summanen'. Because we are here concerned only with the three complements of the finite verb, nominalizations have not been further analyzed - even though they of course have a thematic structure of their own, eg. *Tämän syöttö* 'His pass' vs. *Harhasyöttö häneltäkin* 'A stray pass from him too' - but considered only in their role as complements of finite clauses; within the thematic structure of a clause, they operate as one unit (cf. Firbas 1975:320-321).

Besides the classes of equatives and nominalizations, there are elliptical clauses that consist only of mentioning the name of the player who gets the puck. Elliptical clauses like these are exemplified by the underlined structures in text fragment (33).

(33) *Hasek*. Tuolla, kaukolaukauksella Suomi, haki ainoastaan tilaisuutta vaihtoon. Sitten, *Kucera*. *Arbelius*. Ja ylös on noussut Saarinen. *Ruuttu*, sitten Järvenpää hyvin taakse. Sieltä nousee Lumme. Ja tuo Sonjan laukaus menee harmittavasti Tshekkoslovakian maalin ohi. Mutta suomalaispyöritys jatkuu. *Arbelius*. Ja Christian Ruuttu on vielä ohjaamassa. Erittäin hyvä vaihto Suomelta.

On formal grounds these could be regarded as elliptical forms of transitive clauses. *Hasek* in (33), for example, could be short for *Hasek saa kiekon* 'Hasek gets the puck'. In this article these structures have, however, been analysed as intransitive locatives that express the location of the puck at a given moment. Because this location is animate, they have been considered beneficiaries (class Bi6 in Table 2). In fact, this type is the most frequent in the corpus and we will return to it later.

The frequencies of the clause types occurring in the corpus have been given in Table 2. We can see that transitive clauses (class A) that Tomlin deals with are a minority in the corpus: their frequency is 29.4%, while that of the intransitive clauses (class B) is 61.5%.

The two main classes A and B have been divided into sub-groups according to the semantic roles of the complements. The order in which the roles occur in the table and in the following examples is the neutral order Subject - Verb - Object - Adverbial. Transitive clauses have been divided according to the number of complements. The three-place clauses have the case frame AG (NE +BE)[2] (*Stavjana, jättää kiekon Hrdinalle* 'Stavjana leaves the puck to Hrdina') or AG (NE +LO) (*Hrdina, lyö kiekon päätyyn*. 'Hrdina shoots the puck to the end'). The two-place clauses have the following case frames: AG (NE) (*Jagr ottaa kiekon* 'Jagr takes the puck') and (+BE NE) (*Jyrki Lumme saa tuosta, syöttöpisteen* 'Jyrki Lumme scores a point with that', *tällä kerralla Pauke Järvinen myös menettää kiekon* 'And this time Pauke Järvinen also loses the puck', *tämä löytää Summasen* 'Who finds Summanen'). Intransitive clauses have the following frames: (NE +BE)

[2] Events like this were few in the data and they were discarded.

Table 2. Different clause types in the corpus

	No.	%
(A) Transitive	237	29.4
(1) ag (ne +be/lo)	70	8.7
(2) ag (ne)	130	16.1
(3) (+be ne)	37	4.6
(B) Intransitive	496	61.5
(i) Benefactive	235	29.1
(4) (ne +be)	16	2.0
(5) (ne be)	26	3.2
(6) (be)	193	23.9
(ii) Locative	33	4.1
(7) (ne +lo)	30	3.7
(8) (ne lo)	3	0.4
(iii) Agentive locative	90	11.2
(9) ag* (ne* +lo)	72	8.9
(10) ag* (ne* lo)	18	2.2
(iv) Author locative	138	17.1
(11) ath* (ne* +lo)	35	4.3
(12) ath* (ne* lo)	103	12.8
(C) Others	74	9.2
(13) Equative	9	1.1
(14) Nominalizations	65	8.1
(14a) Finite	29	3.6
(14b) Non-finite	36	4.5
Total	807	100.0

(*Kiekko ei mene aivan Ruutulle saakka* 'The puck does not quite go as far as Ruuttu'), (NE BE) (*Näin kiekko on Laksolalla* 'So Laksola has the puck'), (BE) (*Sitten, Järvenpää* 'Then Järvenpää'), (NE +LO) (*Ja sinne se menee Tammen taakse* 'And there it goes, behind Tammi), (NE LO) (*vaikka kiekko pysyy, ei pysy enää, Tshekkoslovakian puolustusalueella* 'even though the puck stays, does not stay any more, in Czechoslovakia's defence zone'), AG* (NE* +LO)[3] (*Gudas, Tshekkoslovakian puolustaja, kiekon perään* 'Gudas, a Czechoslovakian defenseman, (goes) after the puck'), AG* (NE* LO) (*samaan aikaan kun Vilander, pyörittää siellä Hasekin maalin takana* 'At the same that Vilander is wheeling (the puck) there behind Hasek's goal'), ATH* (NE* +LO) (*Summanen törmää päin Hascakia* 'Summanen bumps into Hascak') and ATH* (NE* LO) (*Suomalaisia kuitenkin siniviivan tuolla puolen* 'There are, however, Finns on the other side of the blue line').

Tomlin deals only with agentive clauses. In the present corpus clauses containing the semantic role of agent constitute 35.9% of the cases. The clause type most frequently used in the corpus (23.9%) is class (Bi6), the elliptical clause naming only the player who has the puck, ie, the location of the puck. Of the classes containing a finite verb the most frequent (16.1%) is class A2, agentive transitives. The second (12.8%) is the existential type Biv12, expressing the place of a player. The third (8.9%) is class Biii9, expressing a player moving to a place, and the fourth (8.7%) is class A1, expressing a player moving the puck to a location.

The occurrence of the inverted word order

The frequency of the inverted word order is expressed by a figure obtained by dividing the number of occurrences of clauses with the inverted word order by the occurrences of clauses with the direct word order. The figure thus expresses the number of clauses with the inverted word order per one clause with direct word order. The smaller the figure, the less frequently the inverted word order occurs with that clause class and the less frequently the clause class uses inverted word order for introducing new referents. Table 3 shows the proportion of the inverted word order in classes where the inverted word order

[3] The asterisk (*) indicates that the two roles are coreferential.

Table 3. The proportion of the inverted word order in some of the clause types

(A1)	Three-place transitive	0.1
(A2-3)	Two-place transitive	0.2
(C14a)	Finite nominalizations	0.4
(Biii)	Agentive locatives	0.7
(Biv)	Author locatives	1.0

can be used. The classes have been re-ordered according to the likelihood of the occurrence of the inverted word order, with the less likely class to take the inverted word order at the top.

Table 3 shows that the use of the inverted word order varies according to the clause class. This could be due to two factors: either the clause types do not have new referents and they do not need to employ the inverted word order, or they do not employ the inverted word order even though they contain new referents. To investigate this we will concentrate only on clauses introducing new referents into the text. First, however, we must re-examine the concepts of 'new' and 'given' information.

What is given in ice hockey reporting?

Tomlin (1983:420) establishes his hierarchy independently of any actual text. The most salient feature of the extralinguistic activity of viewing hockey on TV is the puck, which the television camera and the viewer will follow (cf. Tomlin 1983:420). The commentator expects the viewer to see what the TV director has chosen for him to see.

Thus the puck is given for Tomlin. The clauses whose subject refers to the puck are included in class (Bii). The other complement in these clauses is an adverbial of place. In this class the puck always occurs as the theme (the ratio for inverted word order is 0.0).

There are, however, other expressions, such as *laukaus* 'shot', *syöttö* 'pass', that refer to an event involving the puck and its movement, as for example in *Nyt tulee paha laukaus* 'And now comes a bad shot', *Syöttö menee kuitenkin vastustajalle* 'The pass goes, however, to the opposing team', *Ja syöttö jalolle tulee*

hieman liiaksi taakse 'And the pass to Järvenpää goes too much back', *Järvenpään laukaus ei aivan onnistunut* 'Järvenpää's shot did not quite succeed', *Sieltä tulee puolustajan laukaus* 'Here comes a defenceman's shot'. Tomlin does not explicitly deal with expressions like these, but we can conclude from his examples (Tomlin 1983:415, 421-422) that he has treated these in the same way as references to the puck. This seems reasonable, because if the viewer follows the movement of the puck he is bound to notice also the passes and shots. Expressions like these have been considered nominalizations and classified under class (C14a). Again, the other complement is an adverbial of place. In this class, however, the subject is rhematic more often than with class (Bii): the ratio is 0.4.

Class (Bii) includes also clauses where the subject refers to the face-off. These too occur most often as themes, but sometimes also as rhemes (the ratio is 0.2).

We may conclude that the puck and the face-off occur as themes more often than locations, because they are given. We could, however, also regard various locations in the ice stadium as given, because the viewer can see them. These could include the rink itself, the stand, the ice, the goal, the red line, etc. The viewer can see these locations himself and does not really need to be told where the puck is. The puck is, however, more given than locations, because there is always only one puck, but its location can vary. On the other hand, there are more players than one. The viewer cannot usually identify players and thus the job of the commentator is really to name players for the viewer.

New referents

What is new and unpredictable in viewing ice hockey are the names of the players, because the viewer cannot identify players. There are, however, cases where the player is more given than the puck, namely when the player has been mentioned in preceding clauses. Then the reference to the player is usually the theme (Tomlin 1983 does not deal with cases like this, although Tomlin 1986: 46 mentions this possibility). In (34-36), for instance, the player is first introduced to the scene in rhematic position, after which reference to him is thematic.

(34) Ja erinomaisesti heittäytyy eteen Pauli Järvinen. Hyvä Pauke. Kaivaa vielä kiekon tuolta laidasta ja näin ei Tshekkoslovakia taida saada ylivoimamaalia.
'And Pauli Järvinen throws himself excellently in front of the puck. Well done Pauke! Then he digs the puck up from the board and so Czechoslovakia may not be able to score any more'

(35) mitä tekee nopea Raimo Summanen? Jalo auttaa takaa, Summanen pääsee ampumaan mutta Scerban saa mailan väliin.
'What is the fast Raimo Summanen doing? Jalo is helping him from behind, Summanen gets a shot but Scerban puts his stick in between'

(36) Ruuttu. Ja nyt yritetään pelata tilanne todella loppuun saakka. Ruuttu tämän ruuhkan panee alulle.
'Ruuttu. And now they try to play this situation to the end. Ruuttu starts this situation.'

Because we want to concentrate on clauses that introduce new referents, we exclude from the data all clauses in which a reference was made to a player who had been mentioned in any of the five preceding clauses. It is assumed that after five clauses in which a referent has not been mentioned again, it will have disappeared from the short term memory of the viewer, because scenes change so quickly in ice hockey (cf. Givon 1983:13-14, Jaggar 1983:372). After an absence of five clauses the name of a player is considered new again. The puck, locations in the ice stadium, and events shown on the TV-screen have been considered given.

Persons other than players

More "individual" persons, such as the goalkeepers, the referee, the coaches, are easier for the viewer to identify. This should have syntactic effects, and in fact Tomlin (1983:426) states that when the goalkeeper stops the puck, the goalkeeper - and not the puck as predicted by the hierarchy - occurs as the theme in about 50% of the clauses reporting the event. Thus the goalkeepers are more salient than the other players.

Table 4 shows how often subjects referring to referentially new players, goalkeepers, coaches, referees and teams occur as rhemes in the corpus. A high ratio means that the subject is more often rhematic, a low ratio that it is thematic. It is to be noted that with classes (A) and (Biii-iv) the subject referring to a person

occurs as the theme when the unmarked direct word order is used, but in classes (Bi4-5) the inverted word order has to be employed to place the adverbial referring to a person in the theme position and the subject referring to the puck in the rheme position (the inverted *Tshekkoslovakialle menee kiekko* 'To Czechoslovakia goes the puck' as opposed to the direct *Kiekko ei mene aivan Ruutulle saakka* 'The puck does not go as far as Ruuttu'). From the point of view of information structure all these structures are marked, because they start with new information.

As stated in connection with Table 3, the possibilities of using word order for expressing information structure depend on the clause type, and for this reason in Table 4 we have presented references to persons in three relevant clause types. These are the sub-groups of two main clause classes transitive and intransitive that refer to a person. The intransitive class has been divided into two: in beneficiary intransitives an adverbial refers to a person, in agent/author intransitives the subject refers to a person.

It can be seen that references to the teams are almost always thematic, as are references to the coaches and the referee. References to the goalkeepers are more often thematic than references to players, except for the class of transitives, where the ratios are the same. Table 4 shows that of the various persons referred to in ice hockey reporting, references to players are most often placed in the rheme position, that is, they are most often new in the sense of Tomlin (1983).

Table 4. Occurrence of subjects referring to referentially new players, goalkeepers, coaches, referees and teams as rhemes.

	Player	Goalie	Team	Referee	Coach
Transitives (Class A)	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0
Be intransitives (Classes Bi4-5)	5.0	1.0	0.0	-	-
Ag/ath intransitives (Classes Biii-iv)	1.1	0.5	0.1	-	0.0

Use of the inverted word order for introducing new referents

Table 5 shows the occurrence of the inverted word order in clause classes having referentially new players as their subjects.

It can be seen that the inverted word order is used less frequently for introducing a new referent in transitive clauses than in intransitive clauses. The inverted word order is still rarer with three-place clauses. Furthermore, transitive clauses with +BE subjects take the inverted word order more easily than clauses with AG subjects. The difference (0.2 vs. 0.5) is corroborated by results from other text types (see Table 6 below), in which the ratios are 0.3 vs. 1.0 (Hiirikoski forthcoming; for preliminary results, see Hiirikoski 1989 and 1990). The same tendency to avoid placing agent subjects postverbally is seen in intransitives: clauses containing agent subjects (class Biii) take the inverted word order less frequently than clauses containing author subjects (class Biv): the ratios are 0.8 vs. 1.3.

Table 5. Frequency of the inverted word order in clauses having referentially new players as their subjects.

(a) Transitive	0.4
(1) ag (ne +be/lo)	0.3
(2) ag (ne)	0.4
(3) (+be ne)	0.5
(biii) Agentive locative	0.8
(9) ag* (ne* +lo)	1.0
(10) ag* (ne* lo)	0.5
(biv) Author locative	1.3
(11) ath* (ne* +lo)	0.9
(12) ath* (ne* lo)	1.4

The fact that the inverted word order is more frequent with intransitive verbs corroborates the view presented by Vähämäki (1987:176-178) that one of the most crucial distinctions between clause types in Finnish is the distinction between existential and non-existential clauses. In existential clauses the subject occurs postverbally and they are a device used for introducing new referents into the text. In Finnish the inverted word order seems to be used the more easily the more the clause resembles a prototypical existential clause formally. Thus intransitives invert more easily than transitives. But also the semantic structure of the clause, its case frame, affects the likelihood for using the inverted word order. Existential clauses are non-agentive (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979:105), whereas agentive action is normally expressed by transitive clauses. It seems that in Finnish the prototypical transitive event (as described by Lakoff 1977:244 and Hopper & Thompson 1980) is expressed typically by a transitive clause with the direct word order, ie. even referentially new agent subjects occur preverbally and referentially given objects postverbally, contrary to the expectations of information structure. The order of complements in the linguistic representation reflects iconically the order of events in cognitive experience. This can be compared to DeLancey's (1981:632-633) concept of attention flow: in a transitive clause the agent, the actual starting point of the event, is a natural theme, the starting point of the clause.

The further away we move from the prototypical transitive event towards less transitive intransitive events, the more easily the inverted word order can be employed. This is reflected by the difference between the ratios of agent transitives and beneficiary transitives in Table 5: the agent transitives are nearer to the transitive act, and therefore invert less easily.

In Hiirikoski (forthcoming) clauses from various text types have been divided into different classes according to the semantic roles they have as their complements. The ratios of the inverted word order have been counted in each class and compared to each other, so that one of the roles varies while the others have been kept constant to see if this causes changes in the ratio for the inverted word order. The roles have been placed on a hierarchy according to how powerfully their occurrence in a clause prevents the use of the inverted word order (the smaller the ratio, the more powerful the role).

Table 6. Comparisons of the ratios of the inverted word order used for introducing new referents in some clause classes.

A. Transitives

Role of the OBJECT	Role of the SUBJECT	Example verb	Ratio
(i) Role of the object remains the same:			
(ne v) ag		kill	0.2
(ne v +be*) ag*		take	0.4
(ne v +be)		get	0.5
(ne v) fo		cause	1.3
(ne v be)		own	2.0
(ii) Role of the subject remains the same:			
(ne v) ag		kill	0.2
(re v) ag		make	1.2
(lo v ne*) ag*		follow	1.8

B. Intransitives

Role of the OBLIQUE	Role of the SUBJECT	Example verb	Ratio
(iii) Role of the oblique remains the same:			
(+lo v ne*) ag*		go	1.1
(+lo v ne)		pass	1.3
(lo v ne*) ag*		do	1.9
(lo v ne)		be	2.4
(iv) Role of the subject remains the same:			
(+lo v ne*) ag*		go	1.1
(lo v ne*) ag*		do	1.9
(+lo v ne)		pass	1.3
(lo v ne)		be	2.4

Some of the preliminary results can be seen in Table 6. In the upper part of the table the effect of the subject role is investigated; the lower part investigates the effect of the object role changes. The roles have been discussed above, with the exception of the role of result (RE). This refers to an entity coming into existence as a result of the event described by the verb (the effected object).

We can see that the transitive clause classes form hierarchies according to their transitivity features: the more transitive clauses rank high on the hierarchies. The more volitional the subject role is, the harder it is to place it postverbally, and the more affected the object role is, the harder it is to place preverbally. If the clause contains a role having a locative or beneficiary feature, they invert more easily. The same applies to intransitive clauses. The more agentive classes invert less easily than non-agentive classes; the clauses having obliques with a directional role invert less easily than classes with stative obliques. Also this latter result connects easily with the situation in transitive clauses: directional locatives can be regarded as being more affected than stative locatives in that the subject referent's entering the place causes a change in it and they are thus more transitive.

There is, however, still the possibility that the mere animateness of the referent, and not its having the semantic role of agent or the grammatical role of subject, is the reason for its occurring as the theme. Next we will look at cases in which reference to a player is made with an adverbial and not with the subject.

The movement of the puck in beneficiary intransitives

Classes (Bi4-5) express the movement of the puck to a player. As stated in connection with Table 4, these classes behave most in accordance with the expectations of information structure: the ratio for new as rheme was 5.0. It is with these classes that the word order can be used for the purposes of information structure, so that the more given referent in the clause will take the theme position. As examples, consider these constructions in (37-38). There the player just mentioned occurs as the theme.

(37) Toisen maalinhan teki Järvinen, hän on myös jäällä. Ja Järviselle kiekko.
'The second goal was scored by Järvinen, who is also on the ice. And to Järvinen goes the puck.'

(38) Gudas. Ja tälle kiekko. Taas uudemman kerran.
'Gudas. And to him the puck. And then again.'

In examples (39-41), on the other hand, the puck is the theme and the referentially new players are rhemes.

(39) Saarisella kiekko, ja nyt se on sitten Helmisellä.
'Saarinen has the puck, and now it is with Helminen'

(40) Christian Ruuttu, joka nyt häviää aloituksen tuossa keskialueella. Näin kiekko on Laksolalla.
'Christian Ruuttu, who loses the face-off in the middle zone. And the puck is with Laksola.'

(41) Voimakas pelaaja Dolana. Summanen, mutta kiekko on Stavjanalla, joka lähettää oman hyökkäyksen vauhtiin.
'The strong player Dolana. Summanen, but the puck is with Stavjana, who starts an attack'

The word order in these classes in determined mostly by the Given First Principle and not by the Animated First Principle.

A new hierarchy

For Finnish the following hierarchy for the choice of the theme is proposed:

<The affecting principle>	
Agent first	Given information first
agent	
beneficiary subject	
author	
beneficiary adverbial	
neutral	
locative	

If the clause has a semantic role ranking high on the hierarchy, the Given First Principle is overruled. Instead, the constituent carrying the powerful role takes the theme position even when new. The lower we go on the hierarchy, the more powerful the Given First Principle becomes. The cut-off point between the two principles (ie. which is the more powerful) seems to vary according to the text

type (for a comparison of the occurrence of the inverted word order in various genres see Hiirikoski 1991). In live ice hockey reporting it seems to be rather low: only in clauses consisting of the two lowest cases - neutral and locative - the word order is practically always determined by the Given First Principle. Even when the reference to a player is made with an adverbial carrying the role of +BE or BE, there are traces of the more general Animated First Principle, although the ruling principle with these classes is still more often the Given First Principle. There is still another principle to be considered, under which the two could be subsumed, the Urgent First Principle.

Characteristics of live ice hockey reporting

It was characteristic of the present corpus that the inverted word order was not used for introducing new referents to the text. New referents were introduced in the theme position in 72.6% of the cases. Of all the themes in the corpus 51.7% were new. One explanation for this could be that in live reporting the commentator says first what is new in the situation, what has changed, and only later the given things, if he has time to add them. And the viewer can normally figure out the rest even if the commentator does not have time to fill in the given information. This could be an instance of Givon's (1983:20) principle "Attend first to the most urgent task at hand".

Topicalizations of new information were frequent in the corpus in all clause classes, but especially frequent they were in clauses giving information about the time. Of the six clauses dealing with penalty time only two have the word order in accordance with information structure (*Esa Keskisen rangaistusaikaa jäljellä 1.27* 'There is 1 minute 27 seconds left of Esa Keskinen's penalty time'), the other four start with the new information: *Puoli minuuttia Heikki Leimeen rangaistusaikaa jäljellä* 'Half a minute left of Heikki Leime's penalty time'. With clauses referring to the playing time, which is more given than the penalty time, the difference is even more pronounced: of the 22 clauses only one has a word order in accordance with information structure (*Peliaikaa jäljellä siis 38 sekuntia* 'There is 38 seconds left of the playing time'), the others start with new information: *kun tasan 5 minuuttia on peliaikaa jäljellä* 'when exactly 5 minutes is left of the playing time'. There is even one clause where the reference to the

playing time occurs as the rheme: *Näin päättyy otteluaika* 'So ends the playing time'.

Topicalization of new referents was frequent with all clause types, as evidenced by examples (42-49).

(42) Koukkaamisesta tuo Pauli Järvisen, rangaistus annetaan, korkea maila siinä oli yhtä hyvin.
'For hooking is that Pauli Järvinen's penalty given, high stick was it as well'

(43) Pavel Wohl, on Tshekkoslovakian valmentaja ja hänestä on tulossa sinulle kollega tänne Sveitsin pääsarjaan ensi kaudeksi.
'Pavel Wohl, is Czechoslovakia's coach and he is going to be your colleague here in Switzerland next season'

(44) Sisupussipalkinnon, Saarinen olisi ansainnut jo tässä ensimmäisessä erässä.
'A special prize for trying hard Saarinen should have been given even in this first round'

(45) Kucera hän oli eikä Jelinek, tällä kerralla, kuitenkin, numero 14, ei 24.
'Kucera he was in fact and not Jelinek, this time, number 14, not 24'

(46) Calgary Flames on todella siis Hrdinan nykyinen seura.
'Calgary Flames is really Hrdina's present team'

(47) Tulosta, ei tule tuostakaan Järvisen laukauksesta.
'Effect, does not that shot have'

(48) ensimmäiset MM-kisat siis hänellä jo menossa, Tervellä 13. maaottelu.
'His first world championships has he going, Terve has his 13th international match'

(49) Helminen pääsee tuikkaamaan Vilanderille. Mutta ei, ei löydä sitten reikää Vilander tuolle laukaukselleen, niin että kiekko menisi Hasekin taakse.
'Helminen manages to shoot to Vilander. But no, no hole does Vilander find for that shot, so that the puck would go behind Hasek.

In the last example the inverted word order is in fact used for thematizing the new referent 'hole' while rhematizing the player mentioned in the previous clause.

Topicalizations of new information were frequent even with the class of beneficiary intransitives, which was the class that most allowed the word order to reflect information structure (see Table 4 above):

(50) Lumme hoitaa ammattimiehen varmuudella sitten tuolla oman maalin takana tilanteen. Raipe Helmisellä kiekko, hyvä syöttö, Järvenpäälle.
'Lumme takes care of the situation professionally there behind our goal. Raipe Helminen has the puck, a good pass, to Järvenpää.'

(51) 10 sekuntia on Suomella tuota ylivoimapeliä aikaa jäljellä Ruutun kumartuessa aloitukseen Hrdinaa vastaan.
'10 seconds has Finland time for power play when Ruuttu is bending down to the face-off against Hrdina.

In cases like *Tirkkosella kiekko* 'With Tirkkonen the puck' the reference to the puck seems to be added like an afterthought. Structures like these always lack the copula in the corpus (see also examples 37-38 and compare them to 39-41 with the direct word order) and thus they resemble the most frequent clause class in the corpus, class (Bi6), which only names the player who has or gets the puck. Class (Bi6) expresses only the new information, which is also true of class (C14b) in the sense that they lack a finite verb and thus only consist of the theme. Class (Bi6) was considered to indicate the location of the puck. Sometimes these themes are followed by structures whose subjects they could be. If there is not a clear pause after the theme, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the commentator has intended to produce a one-place locative clause with a new referent as the theme followed by another clause in which the theme of the previous clause acts as the elliptical subject, or one clause with a new theme. The latter interpretation is more natural when the following verb expresses what the player does to get the puck, as in examples (52-54).

(52) Hasek. Katkaisee vaikka kiekko pysyy, ei pysy enää, Tshekkoslovakian puolustusalueella.
'Hasek. Stops even if the puck stays, doesn't stay any longer, in Czechoslovakia's defence zone'

(53) Järvinen, taistelee kiekon Suomelle hyvin.
'Järvinen, fights the puck to Finland well'

(54) Lumme. Ottaa kiekon.
'Lumme. Takes the puck.'

If the naming of the player in itself expresses that he gets the puck, as has been assumed in this article, then the following structure only states this fact more specifically. Cases like these have been analysed as consisting of one clause. The pause after the theme seems to be typical of the present commentator: it may be his way of indicating the theme, or what he considers the most important information.

The above three are, however, the only examples of such structures. In all the others (33 cases) the following finite structure expresses what the player did with the puck after getting it:

(55) Hrdina, lyö kiekon päätyyn,
'Hrdina, shoots the puck to the end of the rink'

(56) Stavjana, jättää kiekon Hrdinalle.
'Stavjana, leaves the puck to Hrdina'

Cases like these have been analysed as consisting of two clauses; Thus (56), for example, consists of two propositions: 'The puck goes to Stavjana. He leaves it to Hrdina'.

If the most powerful principle in live TV reporting is the "Attend first to the most urgent task at hand" principle, then there is of course no need to use the inverted word order because new referents are placed preverbally. The Agent First Principle can be subsumed under the Urgent First Principle, because identifying the player is usually the most urgent task of the commentator.

Discussion

It seems that in Finnish the determining principle in the choice of theme is Agent First rather than Given First. In this respect Finnish resembles Walbiri referred to by Tomlin (1983:417). In Walbiri the subject encodes agent, and maybe therefore the language lacks a passive construction. Also Finnish lacks a construction corresponding to the English passive. The type of passive found in Finnish is the impersonal passive (eg. Siewierska 1984:93-125; for the Finnish passive, see Shore 1986, Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979:254-256). The Finnish impersonal passive cannot express the agent with an oblique (Siewierska

1984:100). This means that for purely structural reasons there are few possibilities for the role of agent to occur postverbally.

The only construction available is the agent participle (see Karlsson 1983:176-178), exemplified by (58), which is called the periphrastic passive by Siewierska (1984:126-161). Siro (1977:36-37) considers it, "in a sense", an equivalent of the English agentive passive (for an opposing view, see Karttunen 1977:110-111). They incorporate the agent in the (passive?) VP (cf. Keenan 1981:19).

(58) Air America on Yhdysvaltain keskustiedotuspalvelun CIA:n rahoittama.
(*Helsingin Sanomat*, 3 November 1990)
'Air America is financed by the CIA', more literally 'Air America is of CIA's financing/CIA-financed'

Sometimes the impossibility of expressing the agent in a passive construction is felt to be a lack in the language, and different prepositional phrases are placed after a passive verb, usually *jonkun toimesta* 'of somebody's doing'. This construction is exemplified by the subtitle translation given in (59i).

(59) A: Tell her I've been shot.
B: Very good sir. May I tell by whom?
(i) A: Minua on ammuttu 'I've been shot'
B: Saanko kysyä kenen toimesta? 'May I ask by whom' (more literally 'May I ask of whose making this is?')
(ii) A: Olen haavoittunut 'I'm wounded'
B: Erinomaista, sir. Saanko kertoa kuka ampui?
'Excellent, sir. May I tell who shot?'
(Reiner: *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid*)

The construction is rejected in normative grammars, and it appears mainly in official language (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979:256, note 1). Here translator (i) has used it to convey the pompous speech style of a butler. The more usual equivalent would be that chosen by translator (ii), the active.

It is only the semantic role of agent that cannot occur as an oblique after the verb. There are intransitive constructions that allow for other causative roles to appear postverbally. Consider example (60b), which has been translated into English as (60a). Here the semantic role of force (unvolitional causer; see Huddleston 1970:504-506) has been placed postverbally.

(60a) but the two in front had been *killed by* the same burst as the driver
(60b) mutta näistä oli kaksi edessäollutta *kuollut* samasta *suihkusta* kuin kuljettaja
(Väinö Linna: *The Unknown Soldier*)

A structurally more similar English equivalent would have been *died from*. Here the inverted word order *kaksi oli tappanut sama suihku* 'two had been killed by the same burst' would also have been more likely than with agent subjects: in clauses having new force subjects the ratio for the inverted word order is 1.3, in clauses having new agent subjects it is 0.2 (see Table 6).

This tendency is reflected also in examples (61) and (62), both from the same film translator:

(61) Perhaps he was killed by the Communists.
Jospa kommunistit tappoivat hänet 'Perhaps the Communists killed him'

(62) He was killed at a long distance, as much by an idea as anything else.
Hänet tappoi aate. 'He was killed by an idea'
(Mankiewicz: *The Quiet American*)

Example (62) could have been translated as *Hän kuoli aatteesta* 'He died for an idea' or *Hän kuoli aatteeseen* 'He died from an idea', but there is no such possibility for the agentive (61) (**Hän kuoli kommunisteilta/kommunisteihin/kommunisteista*, leaving out such clumsy constructions as *Hän kuoli kommunistien toimesta*, *Hänet tapettiin kommunistien toimesta* or the more poetic *Hän kuoli kommunistien käsissä* 'He died at the hands of the Communists', which no longer is causative). This leaves the inverted word order as the only device for rhematizing a constituent carrying the role of agent.

Kirkwood (1978:242) states that in German 'inversion forms' - which I take to include intransitives like (60b) above - will not have been developed or be used so extensively as in English, because the German word order is freer to express information structure and there is no need for other structures. On the basis of the present corpus, however, it seems that in Finnish the free word order is used mostly with those clause types that have an alternative way of expression by using intransitive verbs. On the other hand, the clause types that do not have this intransitive alternative invert less readily. In Finnish the restrictions on the use of word order for expressing information structure are not grammatical as

in English, but semantic. The Finnish word order is primarily determined by semantics, secondarily by information structure, and thirdly by grammar. There are two competing principles, the Given First Principle and the Urgent First Principle. The latter includes the Animated First Principle, which again includes the Agent First Principle. The text type determines which principle is the most powerful.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allerton, D. J. & A. Cruttenden 1978. Syntactic, illocutionary, thematic and attitudinal factors in the intonation of adverbials, *Journal of Pragmatics* 2, 155-188.

Beedham, Christopher 1982. *The passive aspect in English, German and Russian*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Comrie, Bernard 1981. *Language universals and linguistic typology: syntax and morphology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Cook, Walter A. 1979. *Case grammar: development of the matrix model (1970-1978)*. Washington, D. C.: Georgetown University Press.

Danes, Frantisek 1964. A three-level approach to syntax, in Frantisek Danes et al. (eds.), *Travaux linguistiques de Prague* 1, L'École de Prague d'aujourd'hui, Prague: Éditions de l'Académie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences, 225-240.

DeLancey, Scott 1981. An interpretation of split ergativity and related patterns, *Language* 57, 626-657.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1968. The case for case, in Emmon Bach & Robert T. Harms (eds.), *Universals in linguistic theory*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1-88.

Fillmore, Charles J. 1971b. Some problems for case grammar, in Richard O'Brien (ed.), *Report of the twenty-second annual round table meeting on linguistics and language studies*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 35-56.

Filppula, Markku 1982. On thematic rules and regularities, *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 5, 61-75.

Firbas, Jan 1975. On the thematic and the non-thematic section of the sentence, in Håkan Ringbom et al. (eds.), *Style and text: studies presented to Nils Erik Enkvist*, Trelleborg: Språkförlaget Skriptor AB & Åbo Akademi, 317-334.

231

Firbas, Jan 1987. On the starting points of communication, in Ross Steele & Terry Threadgold (eds.), *Language topics: essays in honour of Michael Halliday*, Volume 1, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 23-46.

Firbas, Jan 1984. Direct object and dative shifting: semantic and pragmatic case, in Frans Plank (ed.), *Object: towards a theory of grammatical relations*, London: Academic Press, 151-182.

Hakulinen, Auli & Fred Karlsson 1979. *Nykysuomen lauseoppia*. Jyväskylä: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Halliday, Michael A. K. 1967. Notes on transitivity and theme in English, Part 1, *Journal of Linguistics* 3, 37-81.

Halliday, Michael A. K. 1967b. Notes on transitivity and theme in English, Part 2, *Journal of Linguistics* 3, 199-244.

Halliday, Michael A. K. 1985. *An introduction to functional grammar*. Bungay, Suffolk: Edward Arnold.

Heinämäki, Orvokki 1981. On the meaning of olla + 3rd inf. iness. in Finnish, in Osmo Ikola (ed.), *Congressus quintus internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum, Turku 20. - 27. VIII. 1980, Pars VI, Dissertationes sectionum: phonologica et morphologica, syntactica et semantica*, Turku: Suomen kielen seura, 383-388.

Hiirikoski, Juhani 1989. The English agentful passive vs. word order in Finnish, in Sonja Tirkkonen-Condit & Stephen Condit (eds.), *Empirical studies in translation and linguistics*, Studies in languages 17, Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto, Humanistinen tiedekunta, 47-86.

Hiirikoski, Juhani 1990. The principles of "animated first" vs. "theme first" in Finnish novels and subtitles, in Antero Niemikorpi & Tuija Pakkala (eds.), *Erikoiskielet ja käännösteoria*, Vakki-seminaari X, Vöyri 10.-11.2.1990, Vaasa: Vaasan korkeakoulu, Kielten laitos, 52-63.

Hiirikoski, Juhani 1991. Information structure of the Finnish clause in various text types: planned vs. unplanned, in Juhani Stenfors & Sirpa Ruokangas (eds.), *VAKKI-seminaari XI*, Vöyri 9.-10.2.1991, Vaasa.

Hiirikoski, Juhani (forthcoming). The English agentful passive vs. the Finnish inverted word order: a contrastive study of information structure of clauses in various genres. Licentiate thesis, University of Joensuu.

Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse, *Language* 56, 251-299.

Huddleston, Rodney 1970. Some remarks on case-grammar, *Linguistic Inquiry* 1, 501-511.

Ihalainen, Ossi 1980. Some remarks on word order and definiteness in Finnish and English, in Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Papers and studies in contrastive linguistics* 11, Poznan: Adam Mickiewicz University, 59-68.

Jaggar, Philip J. 1983. Some dimensions of topic-NP continuity, in Talmy Givon (ed.), *Topic continuity in discourse: a quantitative cross-language study*, Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 365-424.

Karlsson, Fred 1983. *Finnish Grammar*. Porvoo - Helsinki - Juva: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö.

Karttunen, Kimmo 1977. The equivalents of the Finnish passive voice in English, in Kari Sajavaara & Jaakko Lehtonen (eds.), *Contrastive papers*, Reports from the Department of English, University of Jyväskylä 4, 109-126.

Keenan, Edward L. 1981. *Passive in the world's languages*. Reproduced by L.A.U.T. Series A, number 90. Trier: Linguistic Agency, University of Trier.

Kirkwood, Henry W. 1978. Options and constraints in the surface ordering of noun phrases in English and German, *Journal of Pragmatics* 2, 225-245.

Lakoff, George: 1977. Linguistic gestalts, in Woodford A. Beach, Samuel E. Fox & Shulamith Philosoph (eds.), *Papers from the thirteenth regional meeting*, Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 236-287.

Lee, David A. 1973. Stative and case grammar, *Foundations of Language* 10, 545-568.

MacWhinney, Brian 1977. Starting points, *Language* 53, 152-168.

Markkanen, Raija 1979. *Tense and aspect in English and Finnish: a contrastive study*. Helsinki: Studia Philologica Jyväskyläensia 13, Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän Yliopisto.

Ochs, Elinor 1979. Planned and unplanned discourse, in Talmy Givon (ed.), *Syntax and semantics 12: discourse and syntax*, New York - San Francisco - London: Academic Press, 51-80.

Panevova, Jarmila 1978. Inner participants and free adverbials, *Prague Studies in Mathematical Linguistics* 6, 227-254.

Rautala, Helena 1978. Subjektin määräisyyden ja epämääräisyyden ilmaisukeinot englannissa ja suomessa, *Sananjalka*, Suomen kielen seuran vuosikirja 20, Turku: Suomen kielen seura, 29-51.

Shore, Susanna 1986. *Onko suomessa passiivia*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.

Siewierska, Anna 1984. *The passive: a comparative linguistic analysis*. London: Croom Helm.

Siro, Paavo 1977. *Sijakielioppi*. Toinen, korjattu painos. Helsinki: Oy Gaudeamus Ab.

Talmy, Leonard 1976. Semantic causative types, in Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.), *Syntax and semantics 6: the grammar of causative constructions*, New York: Academic Press, 43-116.

Tarvainen, Kalevi 1977. *Suomen kielen lauseenjäsennys dependenssikieliopin mukaan*. Oulun yliopiston suomen ja saamen kielen laitoksen tutkimusraportteja 10. Oulu: Oulun yliopisto.

Tarvainen, Kalevi 1983. *Two papers on dependency grammar*. Umeå Papers in English 6. Umeå.

Tomlin, Russell S. 1983. On the interaction of syntactic subjects, thematic information, and agent in English, *Journal of Pragmatics* 7, 411-432.

Tomlin, Russell S. 1985. Foreground-background information and the syntax of subordination, *Text* 5, 85-122.

Tomlin, Russell S. 1986. *Basic word order: functional principles*. London: Croom Helm.

Vähämäki, K Börje 1987. On defining basic sentences in Finnish, in Mauno Koski (ed.), *Fennistica festiva in honorem Göran Karlsson septuagenarii*, Fennistica 9, Åbo: Åbo Akademis Förlag, 174-188.

RELATIONAL PROPOSITIONS IN TEXT COMPREHENSION PROCESSES

Sonja Tirkkonen-Condit
Savonlinna School of Translation Studies

Introduction

This study is based on the assumption that texts are composed of two kinds of propositions: lexical propositions and relational propositions. Lexical propositions account for semantic relations within a clause, and they can be described, for instance, as semantic role relations between a lexical predicate and its arguments, as in case grammar. Relational propositions account for functional relations among clauses, sentences, and passages of any size. The batteries of types of rhetorical relations vary, and relations such as Specify, Background, Justify, Evidence, and Summary are examples of relation types that have been identified. These relations are also called rhetorical relations, and the terms *rhetorical* and *relational* proposition are used synonymously. Rhetorical structure theory was outlined in 1975 by Joseph Grimes, and it has been further developed in the 1980's by, eg., William Mann and Sandra Thompson.

Lexical propositions are *in the text*, ie. they are lexically and grammatically signalled, whereas relational or rhetorical propositions are not unambiguously signalled. Their comprehension hinges largely on the inferences made by readers.

I will be concerned with the question of how rhetorical relations (relational propositions) are understood by readers of texts. It might also be necessary to ask if it is justified to assume that the comprehension of relational propositions plays any role at all in text comprehension. Even if it may be agreed that their comprehension plays some role in text comprehension, it seems necessary to find out to what extent readers identify the same relations in a given text.

I will briefly report on the results of two empirical studies which seem to support two hypotheses: (1) at least in some text comprehension tasks relational propositions seem to be identified with some degree of consensus, and (2) the

comprehension of relational propositions may figure more consciously and explicitly in some demanding text comprehension tasks such as translation.

Results of a text analysis experiment

The experiment consisted of a text analysis task administered to a group of five subjects, who were to describe the rhetorical structure of an editorial using the concepts defined in Mann and Thompson (1988).

The experiment took place at Savonlinna in the context of a seminar in which this group participated. My contribution to the seminar was a lecture on *Text and translation*, accompanied by a group-work session. My lecture was focussed on rhetorical structure theory, and I introduced the idea of text analysis in terms of relational propositions. The relation types introduced and demonstrated in some detail were *Background, Elaboration, Contrast, Antithesis, Concession, Evidence, Justify, Evaluation, Solutionhood,* and *Summary*, and those introduced only cursorily were *Condition, Purpose, Motivation, Enablement, Cause, Otherwise,* and *Restatement*. These relation names derive from Mann and Thompson's 1988 article. The main purpose of the group-work session was to check whether the participants had learned the system of analysis to such an extent that they could apply it to new texts.

There were two text analysis groups. They gave me permission to tape their discussions. When I listened to the tapes, it turned out that only one of the tapes was worth transcribing. There was very little talk on the other tape, and what was there was virtually inaudible. The first group's discussion, on the other hand, was lively and articulate, and therefore easy to transcribe. Thus my data originate from this "better" recording and its transcription.

The text which I had chosen for the subjects to analyze was an editorial of *The New York Times* of 30th December, 1988. The text is as follows, with sentence numbers added.

AGELESS, AND DRESSED LIKE AN ATHLETE

(1) One day this week an elderly New Yorker was seen running for a bus. (2) Running *like a deer*! (3) How come this woman was so fleet of foot? (4) Because said feet were encased in Nikes, or Adidases, or Reeboks. (5) Or something just like them. (6) Along with millions of other Americans old enough to remember Jesse Owens, she has discovered that wisdom lies in dressing like an athlete.

(7) There is an 84-year-old New Englander, for instance, whose collection of sweats rivals that of the heavyweight champion Mike Tyson. (8) She has them in pink and blue and red and gray, and she has them for all occasions.

(9) On three-dog nights, when once she might have huddled in bed dressed in a flannel nightgown, banked by the requisite trio of spaniels, she is serene in sweatshirt and pants. (10) And the ice-cube feet that used to make it through the night attired in hand-knitted booties are now toasted by sweat socks - the kind with two stripes at the top.

(11) There is nothing new, of course, in dressing practically. (12) But to dress as if you were in training is to do so without sacrificing chic and secrecy. (13) Nursie shoes, wedgies and the little numbers with the tractor-tread sole are classic solaces for the footsore. (14) But they proclaim the bunion, the callus and the cruel corn.

(15) Put on running shoes, however, and who's to know if you're going to walk to work or simply have bum feet? (16) As for sweatsuits, they do what shawls, snuggies and long johns never could: provide warmth at the same time that they project action, energy and the possibility of a five-mile jog.

(17) From toddlers to totterers, millions of Americans now know happier feet and cozier days and nights because they're dressing like competitors for the Golden Gloves. (18) May this fashion never go out of style.

The instructions given to the subjects were that they should describe the dominant rhetorical relations in the text. This group completed the task in 22 minutes.

Before looking at the results of this experiment, I will give you my own description of the dominant rhetorical relations of the text. The schematic description appears in Figure 1, in which the numbers refer to the sentence

numbers in the text. According to this analysis, the nuclear "thesis" of the text is in sentence 12, which expresses, in a nutshell, what good it does to you to "dress as if you were in training." The Background and Concession, which precede this point of the text, and the Evidence, which follows it, are satellites which substantiate this nuclear thesis.

Most of the topics that emerged in the tape-recorded discussion were related to the identification of rhetorical relations. The relation names *Summary, Evidence, Justify, Concession, Background,* and *Exemplification* were explicitly referred to.

The relation which was identified most rapidly, unambiguously, unanimously, and without hesitation was *Concession*. *Concession* appeared as a discussion topic twice. This point in the group's analysis coincides with my own analysis.

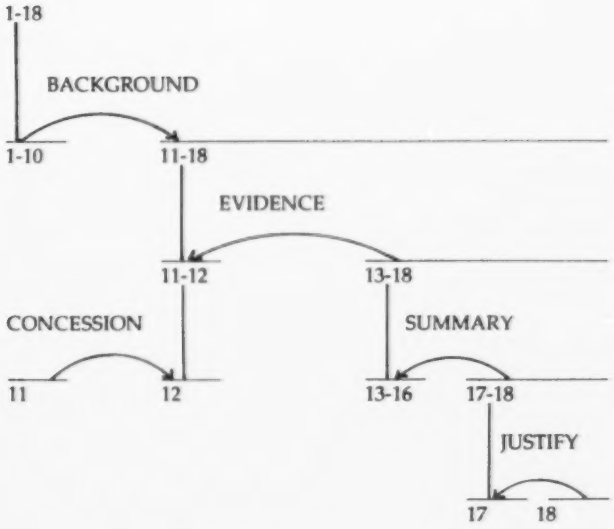

Figure 1. Schematic description of the experimental text

Another relation which appeared to be easy to identify and which did not elicit much discussion was *Summary*.

The other relations explicitly taken up in the discussion were considerably more difficult to identify. It took the group a long time to reach agreement on the dominant rhetorical structure of the text, and they ultimately approached the same kind of analysis that I presented above, according to which sentence 12 is nuclear in the entire text. The group's global analysis approached my analysis, though it took them a relatively long time to reach. The hierarchically dominant *Evidence* relation, for instance, was not particularly easy to identify. The Background relation came out as Exemplification.

Results of a translation experiment

In the translation experiment my aim was to find out on what knowledge base translators make decisions while translating. In particular, I was interested in the knowledge base of those decisions in which a translator makes a choice between two or more competing translation variants - irrespective of whether the choice is between lexical items, between alternative phrases or between alternative syntactic or textual solutions.

As data for my analysis I was able to use the results from Tuija Pöntinen's and Tiina Romanov's (1989) M.A. thesis. Pöntinen and Romanov had made think-aloud protocols of two translators' performance in translating a short LLBA abstract from English into Finnish. One subject was a professional translator and a linguist, while the other subject was an expert in psycholinguistics but a lay person in translating. The text, as shown in below, deals with lateralization of language functions in the brain.

> Danesi, Marcel, Lateralization, affect, metaphor, and language use, *Interfaces*, 1984, 11, 2, May, 41-46.
>
> While localization of many speech functions in the left hemisphere of the brain is well-documented, discourse-related and metaphorical language functions may result from interaction of left and right hemisphere functions. Research shows that emotive language programming, in both expression and elicitation, is content-controlled

> by the right hemisphere and structured by the left. Experiments also show that metaphorization, which violates constraints imposed by semantics, cannot be attributed solely to the analytical functions of the left hemisphere. Research evidence overall seems to refute the view that the right hemisphere is totally inactive in language processing.

I made an analysis of the knowledge that the subjects verbalized in their protocols. The verbalized knowledge was divided into three groups: linguistic knowledge, textual knowledge and extra-textual or world knowledge. The point of interest here is textual knowledge. It refers to knowledge which the subjects had extracted from the text, such as the professional translator's observations about the rhetorical structure of the text. The professional translator pointed out, for instance, that the text exposes an emphatic contrast between earlier research and recent research on lateralization. The following extract from her protocol (here translated from Finnish into English) shows that she makes an effort to get this contrast conveyed into the translation as well:

"now I should look at these emphases here / the first sentence begins with WHILE LOCALIZATION OF MANY MM BLAAPBLAAP / and then there is some new stuff from DISCOURSE-RELATED ETC onwards / *MAY* RESULT / so that it seems that this has been only *recently* subjected to research / in other words the subclause of the first sentence in fact tells us what is or should be conventional and shared knowledge to everybody in the field / so that this contrast should probably be expressed in the text / yes the text is so short / and therefore it would seem strange for instance if I started this sentence with the word "tosin" (admittedly) / there is an abundance of literature which deals with the origin of several speech functions in the left hemisphere *but* discourse-related and metaphorical language functions may *in fact* (= clitic particle -kin) arise / if only the style here were to be just a tiny bit more colloquial then the clitic particle -kin would be very good there / as a result of the interaction of the left and right hemishperes / well yes / or could I perhaps take the liberty of adding something here / but new research results show that / this may *per*haps lead the reader better into this / but recent research / lets put it this way / lets give it a try / shows that discourse-related and metaphorical language functions may in fact result from interaction of the left and right hemispheres / that's it then / the editor of the journal will then probably do what he likes to this text so that this is not necessarily the final thing"

Such verbalizations were not found in the lay subject's protocol. She seemed to deal with each sentence of the text separately and did not pay attention to connections between sentences.

Another difference in the professional's working is worth noticing in this context. She ran through the entire text nine times, the first readings being mainly characterized by efforts to understand the text thoroughly, and the last times to make sure that the final translation made sense to the reader. It is no wonder, therefore, that this translator got a very good picture also of the rhetorical structure of the text.

Conclusion

The above observations lead me to suggest that explicit concern with the comprehension of relational propositions may be characteristic of demanding text comprehension tasks such as translation, abstracting, summarizing, etc., which require an analysis of what is said in the text. More research is needed, however, to find out whether it is realistic to assume that a battery of rhetorical relations can be delineated so accurately that readers can be taught to identify them with a great degree of consensus.

I do not believe that it is possible to delineate an exhaustive battery of relations which are mutually exclusively defined. Aiming at such a battery makes an untenable assumption about the nature of language use: it assumes that language use is basically unambiguous, which it is not. It is the ambiguity and "fuzziness" inherent in language use - and the freedom of interlocutors to interpret language in ways which seem most relevant in the circumstances - that makes it impossible to create a battery of rhetorical relations which leaves no residue when applied to concrete texts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Grimes, J. E. 1975. *The thread of discourse*. Janua Linguarum, Series Minor, 207. The Hague: Mouton.

Mann, W. C. and S. A. Thompson 1988. Rhetorical structure theory: toward a functional theory of text organization, *Text* 8, 243-281.

Pöntinen, T. A. and T. M. Romanov 1989. *Professional vs. non-professional translator: a think-aloud protocol study*. M.A. thesis. Savonlinna School of Translation Studies, University of Joensuu.

Tirkkonen-Condit, S. 1990. How do readers infer relational propositions in an argumentative text: an experimental study. Paper read in the Second ISSA International Conference on Argumentation, Amsterdam, June 19-22, 1990. Forthcoming in the series *Pragmatics and discourse analysis*, Dordrecht: Foris.

Tirkkonen-Condit, S. 1990. The interaction of world knowledge and linguistic knowledge in the processes of translation: a think-aloud protocol study. Paper read at the Colloquium on Theoretical Aspects of Translation and Meaning, Lódz, September 20-22, 1990. To appear in M. Thelen and B. Lewandowska (eds.), *Proceedings of the 1990 Maastricht-Lódz colloquium on "Translation and meaning"*, Part II. Maastricht: Euroterm.

PRAGMALINGUISTIC FEATURES OF ACADEMIC-SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE: A MODEL FOR ANALYSIS AND A DIACHRONIC APPLICATION

Ellen Valle
University of Turku

Introduction

General background

In recent years there has been increasing interest among applied linguists in scientific discourse and in the structure of scientific texts. (See eg. Lundquist, 1989; Malcolm, 1987; Nichols, 1988; Gunnarsson, in press.) At the same time, the structure of the scientific community, and the nature of scientific activity, have also been the target of growing attention in the social sciences, and the sociology and philosophy of science are rapidly growing disciplines. (See eg. Crane 1972; Mulkay 1977; Collins 1982; Latour and Woolgar 1982; Hull 1988.)

There is thus a considerable body of work by now on the structure of scientific discourse, but a definition of what constitutes a 'scientific text' is hardly ever given. Either it is assumed that the concept is intuitively self-evident (Nichols 1988, Lundquist 1989) and the characteristics of such texts are then discussed, or (in corpus studies) the label of 'scientific' or 'academic' is usually assigned by the corpus itself and is taken over without question or definition (eg. Biber and Finegan 1989). We need independent criteria of what constitutes such a text; furthermore, for purposes of contrastive analysis, they have to be applicable cross-culturally. Of course, a simple operational definition would be "any text published in a scientific journal"; but this begs more questions than it answers. In this paper, I propose a working definition in terms of *text function*, based on pragmatic criteria derived from various approaches to the sociology of science. I also prefer the term 'Language for Academic-Scientific Purposes', abbreviated LASP, or in this case EASP; this allows for the inclusion of texts in the human sciences, at the same time implicitly excluding many 'technical' texts which

would be covered by the frequently applied concept of EST (English for Science and Technology; see eg. Sager, Dunkworth and McDonald 1980).

In this paper I first propose a tentative discourse-oriented model for the analysis of EASP texts; I then apply it diachronically to two early scientific texts.

Definition of an EASP text: a functional approach

In recent work in the sociology of science, the function of a scientific text is variously defined as a *contribution* to the ongoing debate, as a *turn in the exchange* (a journal article, the review of a book by another scientist, or a letter discussing another scientist's work); as an item in the *exchange of credit for support* (usually an article); or a token in the quest for *legitimation* (journal article, thesis, dissertation). All of these are based on the concept of the scientific community as a more or less self-contained and self-perpetuating group, which needs to recruit new members from outside but whose debate is restricted to members of the group (Crane 1972; Mulkay 1977; Macleod 1977; Barnes and Edge 1982; Hull 1988). It should be noted that book-length texts nowadays play a relatively minor role in this system, except in the humanities and to some extent the social sciences; books tend to be addressed to outsiders (popularizations of various level) or to potential recruits to the discipline (textbooks).
In terms of more specific pragmatic function, a text produced by a member of the scientific community may have one or more of the following functions (the term 'paradigm' is used relatively loosely, as equivalent to such concepts as 'model', 'theory' or perspective):

1) to contribute more or less raw observational findings within an existing theory or paradigm, without interpretation or discussion
2) to discuss or interpret these findings within an existing paradigm
3) to offer a reinterpretation of the paradigm so as to accommodate nonconforming findings
4) to decide between alternative paradigms
5) to offer a new paradigm, replacing one which can no longer accommodate the data.

These are obviously functions of increasing complexity and of increasing degree of controversiality, ie. polemicity. This will presumably be reflected in the text itself; I would anticipate a more or less direct association between increasing polemicity and the frequency of references to the 'activity' itself, ie. to science and to the work of scientists. I do not, however, deal further with this question in the present paper.

It should be noted that the classification *excludes* texts written for instructive purposes, such as textbooks, whose function is the indirect or direct recruiting of new members for the community, or reports and instructions to 'users' of scientific findings who are not themselves scientists. I think that the concept of the scientific text has to be restricted to texts written by members of the community and directed to other members. I further suggest (although I cannot at this point justify this on rigorously theoretical grounds) that texts with the lowest-level function, ie. the communication of findings without discussion (typically presented in a journal section called "Brief Notes" or the like), be excluded. A 'scientific text' can then usefully be defined as

a text written by an accredited member of the scientific community or a person seeking such accreditation, directed to other members of the community, and intended as a contribution to the scientific debate beyond the level of uninterpreted findings alone.

This definition, and the general assumptions underlying this paper, are based on the concept of the scientific community as a more or less self-contained and self-perpetuating group, which needs to recruit new members from outside, but access to whose discourse is restricted to members of the group. Similar restrictions hold true for most of the major institutions in society: familiar examples are the law, the army and the Church. In fact, it can be said that like these, science is an area where *felicity conditions* apply: a statement may be true uttered by anyone, but it only becomes 'science' when uttered by an accredited scientist.

Text type and text function

It is important to keep in mind that *text type*, which is often confused with text function, is an entirely different concept, and is defined on text-internal grounds. It is clear that in different communicative situations, almost any text

type can be used for almost any text *function*. In terms of LST/LAP texts, a journal article will contain expository sections (*Material and methods*, in part *Results*), argumentative sections (*Introduction*, *Discussion*, *Conclusions*) and possibly instructive sections (*Conclusions*, possibly including suggestions or recommendations, for instance in a medical or engineering article, in general the applied sciences. The dominant text-type and rhetorical function, however, will always be *argumentative*. The scientific community, like other LSP communities, is by definition a community of equals, and it is with one's equals that one argues; both expository and instructive texts are directed from those who have knowledge to those who do not and who need it or want it outside the community; either downward as in textbooks, upward as in reports to superiors or 'horizontally' outward as in reports to clients or applied instructive texts addressed to users.

Most traditional text typologies are based on the communication model and divide texts into *sender-oriented*, *receiver-oriented* and *text- or subject-oriented*. Scientific texts are usually classified under the third, and are therefore seen as primarily informative and expository texts; there is increasing evidence, however, that they constitute an example of another type altogether, which may be more common than is commonly assumed; that of texts oriented on the one hand towards the *activity* which underlies or motivates the text (in this case scientific research), on the other towards the *discourse* group or community to which both the sender and the receiver belong, ie. here the discipline community as a whole or a particular network within it. For instance, Gunnarsson and her colleagues at Uppsala have shown a significant increase in the proportion of such reference over the last one hundred years in Swedish scientific texts (eg. Gunnarsson, in press). It is in this direction that I think research into the structure and characteristics can usefully be pursued.

Sociopragmatic and discoursal characteristics of EASP tests

General discourse characteristics: cumulativeness, cooperativeness and competitiveness

If we look at science as an activity, and if we take into account (which I think we have to) that *publishing* (in the broadest sense - the "making public" of one's results and conclusions) is an essential part of the work of the scientist, not a

trivial follow-up to the 'actual' research in the laboratory or in the library, then the text itself can be seen as an expression - almost a metonym - of this activity; and it follows that a close examination of LASP text structure, if we choose our parameters carefully, can show us something about the structure of science itself. This discourse can be seen as characterized at the most abstract level by three types of feature: *cooperation, competition* and *cumulativeness*. These have all been discussed at great length in the history, sociology and philosophy of science. What I want to look at in the following is the actual forms taken by these in the text. In particular, I focus on the *cooperative and cumulative* character of science, which are in sociopragmatic terms perhaps its most salient features and which have contributed to the enormous power that science wields in the world today.

Mapping or transcription of discourse levels

Level 1. Pragmatic text categories

Cooperation	Specification of model/theory/methods Specification of degree of certainty / plausibility
Competition	knowledge-claims rebuttals
Cumulativeness	information structure of text (in particular, role and assignment of assumed / shared information

These 'macromarkers' can be mapped onto the next lower level of discourse, where we arrive at actual syntactic and morphosyntactic markers. Some of the most interesting ones are shown below, together with the area which they transcribe:

Level 2. Discourse text markers

Marker	Can be used for
Turn-taking - reference to previous turns - offering of openings	cooperation, cumulativeness (cumulativeness)
Stance markers (primarily evidentiality) - self-oriented - other-oriented forms: hedges, modals, discourse verbs, etc.	cooperation / competition
Indication of *status of knowledge* within community - established (ie. 'known' true) - controversial (ie. relevant) - rejected (ie. 'known' false) forms: verb tense; discourse verbs	all three
Indication of *status of information* - thematic structure - focalization - entry of new participants - definite vs. indefinite	mainly cumulativeness

These can in turn be mapped onto an even more specific level of microlinguistic structure. Taking just one, relatively simple subsystem, the *tense of the discourse verb*:

past	definitive knowledge; established interpretation rejected knowledge
perfect	findings / interpretations considered relevant to current debate; may or may not be controversial
present	current, ongoing work

The question of tense usage in scientific texts has been the subject of considerable interest in the recent literature (eg. Malcolm 1987; Hanania and Akhtar 1985). The findings seem to be partly contradictory or at least inconsistent. It should be stressed that the above model is a statistical rather than an absolute one, either descriptively or prescriptively; it describes certain probabilities or tendencies. Many counterexamples will be found; but I suggest

that if a text deviates too greatly from this model, it will be seen by the reader (and, more importantly in terms of 'gatekeeping' in the scientific community, by the referees) as ill-formed - not necessarily as a text in English, but as a *scientific text*, a text in EASP.

Turntaking and activity-related discourse markers

The cooperativeness and cumulativeness of scientific activity is linked with its character as an ongoing process of turntaking. It is no accident that an important element of scientific work, and one which practitioners generally find highly satisfying, consists of various meetings, conferences, congresses and seminars, where face-to-face communication can in fact take place. In an earlier paper (Valle 1987) I looked at the way in which papers read at scientific meetings seem to slide back and forth almost without noticing between items addressing or referring to the scientific community as a whole and those referring to the participants actually present at the meeting. These texts seem to be characterized by two categories of distinctive features. There are, first, those markers which identify them with this highly formalized form of *face-to-face discourse* - the constant (and more or less obligatory) *reference to previous turns*, the offering of *openings* for subsequent turns, the salience of *face-saving* (taking the form of hedging of all kinds, above all of plausibility and attribution shields), and the high incidence of *evidentiality stance markers* (cf. Biber and Finegan 1989), more particularly the pragmatic verbs used to specify commitment to both one's own findings and conclusions and those of others. Secondly, there are those which more directly reflect the aspect of cumulativeness; since these have been at least enumerated above, I shall not go into them further here. In the following discussion, I focus on what I consider the two most salient features of EASP discourse: those marking interpersonal, 'face-to-face' turntaking, and those expressing *activity-related discourse* in general.

Since, as we have seen, science is a highly cooperative and collective enterprise, taking place in a social context of research networks and groups of various size and level (see in particular Hull 1988), activity-related discourse markers tend at the same time to both refer to and themselves embody a process of turntaking, normally more typical of spoken than of written discourse. I have previously classified these markers into two parallel categories, each consisting

of four subcategories (Valle 1987); this classification holds true mainly for texts presented orally in face-to-face settings, where the turntaking aspect is most clearly visible, but can be adapted for purely written texts as well.

I. Items referring to the scientific community and its activities
   1. Items referring to the scientific paradigm or research model
   2. Items referring to concrete/specific research activities
   3. Expressions of the writer's/speaker's personal involvement, commitment or opinion; often but not necessarily involving
   4. Expressions of scientific courtesy or modesty (face-saving)

II. Items referring to the immediate discourse context (oral discussion, conference, workshop, etc.)
   1. Items referring to discourse context in general
   2. Items referring (by name or otherwise) to a particular participant in the discussion, other than the speaker him/herself
   3. Items referring to the speaker's own role or participation
   4. Expressions of the speaker's personal involvement, commitment, opinion or comment.

Activity-related markers

Activity-related markers include references to scientific theory-formation, models and paradigms; they may also refer to concrete research which has taken place, but without the specific reference by name, which is more appropriately included under turntaking models (see below). Such items often make reference to the cumulative nature of the discipline, sometimes but not always in evaluative terms. Some examples from Valle (1987):

(1) There is more or less unanimous agreement that depression is one of the most common forms of mental disturbance

(2) There is considerable controversy over the definition, diagnostics, epidemiology, course and treatment of depression.

(3) ... findings arrived at in a recent extensive epidemiological survey recently completed in Finland.

Turn-taking markers

Turn-taking markers include references to the work of other workers in the same discipline, usually in the form of a reference to a specific text (citation, following a particular convention - MLA, APA, etc.), or more generally to a body of work by another scientist, especially with a high status in the scientific community. Interestingly, turntaking in LASP texts (in both written and oral channels) also involves the *offering of openings for turns by others*, either inviting comment on one's work or suggesting possibilities of future research. Even more than general activity-related items, turntaking items tend to include evaluative markers. Examples abound: the following are from Latour and Woolgar (1982) and from Collins (1982), where the actual reference is given in an endnote and thus is not visible here.

(4) Our discussion of the demand for credible information contrasts with two influential models of the exchange system in science proposed by Hagstrom (1965) and Bourdieu (1975b). Both models have obviously been influenced by economics.

(5) Crane and others have missed the point that...

(6) It has of course been stated many times before (for instance in the work of Menzel) that scientists tend to claim...

Example (4) shows the interaction between the present speakers' turn and that referred to; example (6) shows interaction between general activity reference and turn-taking; and (4) and (5) show evaluative markers.

Diachronic analysis

The corpus

In the rest of this paper, I briefly outline some aspects of a diachronic, historical approach to EASP texts, and analyze two texts, dating from 1665 and 1840 respectively. This is a preliminary study to a more extensive examination of the occurrence of the discourse parameters discussed in the first three sections, in

a chronologically defined series of texts published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*. I have provisionally decided on a corpus which should hopefully give statistically meaningful results: sampling at fifty-year intervals, and taking all texts over a ten-year period in one particular field, physiology; 1661-70, 1711-20, 1761-70, 1811-20, 1861-70 and 1911-20. Towards the end of the period there may be too many texts, and a random sampling procedure would then be necessary. It is also interesting to look at the relative proportion of expository vs. argumentative texts; the early years of the Royal Society were (quite consciously) dominated by a Baconian concept of science, as the collection of raw data without a preconceived theoretical frame of reference or the formulation of hypotheses, and many of the texts seem to be of this type. It is also sometimes stated that science was originally, and up to the 19th century, seen as a more or less amateur hobby in which any educated 'gentleman' could take part. An approach based on text and discourse analysis, however, suggests that the text structure of even the earliest 17th century texts reflects the notion of a relatively closed 'scientific community', in which gentlemen 'philosophers' address each other, but exclude outsiders. It is merely a matter of how the group is defined.

Text type and text length

I have already commented on the gradual change in the corpus, from the 17th to the 19th century, from a predominantly expository text type to a predominantly argumentative one. This coincides with - and is presumably causally linked with - a change in the concept of science, from the Baconian to the Newtonian and/or Cartesian. What is interesting in terms of text linguistics is the simultaneous change in text length. Below are some figures showing this change, so far without significance analysis (see Table 1).

A closer examination of the texts shows a close correlation between text length and text type, where short texts ($x < 10$) tend to be expository in type and informative in function, long texts ($x > 20$) to be argumentative in type and polemical in function. In the intermediate size category ($10 < x < 20$) there is some fluctuation. Since text length is much easier to determine than text type or function, and has the advantage of being determinate and unambiguous, it

Table 1. Number and length of texts in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* in 1665-67, 1714-16 and 1840

1665-67
Total number of pages 398
Total number of items (including book reviews) 137
Mean length (pages) 2.9

1714-16
Total number of pages 541
Total number of items 56
Mean length: trimodal distribution, see Table 3.2.2

1840 (Part I)
11 items: length 2, 3, 5, 10 / 14, 16, 16 / 26, 31, 34, 59
mean 19 pages
excluding x<10: 26 pages

1840 (Part II)
12 items: length 6, 10,10 / 17, 18, 20 /24, 44, 45, 52, 65, 72
mean 32 pages
excluding x<10: 40 pages

Table 2. Detailed breakdown for 1714-16

1.	4 items	2, 41, 4, 1
2.	6 items	mean = 6
3.	3 items	3, 20, 17
4.	5 items	2, 26, 6, 5
5.	2 items	3, 52 (Newton/Leibniz debate)
6.	4 items	3, 16, 18, 2
7.	7 items	3, 16, 9, 2, 5, 4, 7
8.	7 items	3, 9, 4, 2, 8, 10, 3
9.	6 items	3, 12, 2, 3, 15, 4
10.	5 items	3, 6, 2, 5, 39
11.	4 items	3, 17+5, 3, 32
12.	3 items	3, 14, 19

would be a great gain if the former could be accepted as a measure of the latter. The question remains whether the correlation is strong enough (and at what times) to allow this.

Analysis of the texts

At this preliminary stage of the work, I examine the texts for three classes of item:

1) Activity-oriented or activity-referring in general, including the writer's own activity. There are two subclasses not at this point examined separately: items referring to the *knowledge structure* of the discipline and to the *text* itself.

2) Interpersonally oriented with specific reference by name.

3) Hedges (both attributive and plausibility); expressed by modal verb, speech-act verb or other means.

The concept of 'item' is at this point not strictly defined: it is a complete functional text-unit of whatever size, usually a phrase or a clause. Ultimately a strict and operational definition will be necessary, if only for statistical analysis.

Text 1: William Bowman: "On the Minute Structure and Movements of Voluntary Muscle" (1840).

Background of text and relevance of biographical data to the study of language change

The text dealt with here consists of the first four paragraphs (roughly 2.5 %) of a forty-page text, published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* in 1840. The author, William Bowman, was at the time only 24 years old; he was what today would be called a graduate student, working under Professor Robert Todd. Bowman was considered an extremely promising student; he was elected to the Royal Society soon afterwards, to a great extent on the strength of this paper, and went on to become one of the most prominent men in Victorian physiology.

Biographical information is not normally considered relevant to the study of language change; if, however, we look for the sociolinguistic mechanisms and processes underlying such changes, the age, social background and other demographic characteristics of the speaker are relevant (see eg. Labov 1966). It is possible that the origins of changes in EASP structure should be looked for in

texts by younger writers. Social factors, broadly interpreted, may also be relevant: Bowman, for instance (like many other prominent Victorian scientists), came from a provincial, middle-class and 'Nonconformist' background, and his education was at Nonconformist schools, which may well have been more 'modern' in their approach to language and text-production, and the pragmatic communication models underlying them, than the more traditional and conventional public schools of the time. The question of the use of biographical information in history in general is a controversial one (Shapin and Thackray 1974); its application to the study of language change even more so. I suggest the possibility for what it is worth, as possibly relevant to the study of the development of text structure where the individual writers are known. In the case of the history of LASP, an outstanding source of the necessary information is now available, in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, recently completed at the University of Chicago and covering the entire history of Western science.

Text macrostructure

Once we eliminate the Victorian rhetoric, the text seems astonishingly modern, as an EASP text, both in textual and rhetorical macrostructure and in surface microstructure. It would be interesting to look for instance at such aspects as surface cohesion and text deixis, to see if they deviate from modern structure, but I have not done so here. In pragmatic macrostructure the text (especially the part dealt with here) does not differ from a modern EASP text: the first paragraph constitutes what today would be called 'Acknowledgements' (normally nowadays placed at the end of an article but the beginning (the Preface or Foreword) of a book), the second a brief survey of the field and a particular controversial question in it, providing the motivation of the writer's work, the third defines the purpose of the research (in terms of the schema suggested in above, this is an example of (4) "deciding between competing interpretations or models") and the fourth gives terminological definitions. Note also the typical identification, in the third paragraph, of 'paper' (ie. *text*) and research, the actual work done in the laboratory. The verbs (or rather, verb phrases) used are typical EASP performatives: to *vindicate the correctness of an opinion, to render* more exact our knowledge, to *point out* existence and properties, and to *elucidate* the cause. Verbs used in subordinate clauses are *ascertain* and *describe* (used twice, once about the discipline in general and one

about oneself). Of these, the only one probably not available in modern EASP discourse is *render*, and that is presumably a matter of general linguistic change rather than development of EASP. The functional overlap of scientific research and 'publication' is reflected in text structure. If we take this as one of the defining characteristics of EASP, when does it begin? That is one question I hope to answer in future research.

Activity-related items in general

The following items are found:

(7) the first discoveries ... were communicated
(8) it has long been known
(9) (minute threads which ...) have generally been regarded
(10) All the best observers ... have recognised
(11) we seem to be as little advanced ... as ever
(12) The improvements which have taken place in the construction of microscopes appear indeed to have only offered grounds for new differences of opinion
(13) as may be seen by the records of the last few years
(14) A more common opinion is ...
(15) (his claims to it) have often been overlooked
(16) My design in the present paper is to vindicate ... the general correctness of this opinion (2)
(17) to render more exact and ample the knowledge of its details (2)
(18) to point out the existence and properties of new parts which ... have not yet been described (2)
(19) to elucidate the ... by describing shortly ... (2)
(20) it becomes necessary to attach to them a term of definite meaning
(21) (the words ...) have been so much abused by indiscriminate application
(22) it would be confusing the subject to employ them in this sense
(23) the term ... adopted by (Fontana and) some subsequent writers
(24) will be shown in the sequel to be liable to considerable objections
(25) can never be said to be a correct expression
(26) I shall prefer its use
(27) will be styled...

Specific reference by name

(28) since the time of Leeuwenhoek
(29) In 1837 Mr Skey, after an elaborate investigation, concluded
(30) Dr. Mandl, a microscopical observer in Paris, has described and figured them ...
(31) More lately Dr. Schwann and M. Lauth have advocated...
(32) the former, who has adduced...

Hedges and other courtesy and/or face-saving markers

It is in the area of *courtesy markers* that the Victorian EASP text differs perhaps most from a modern one. We would no longer refer to "the illustrious Leeuwenhoek"; nor would a EASP writer, however young and humble, use such expressions as "I am encouraged to hope" or "not altogether uninteresting" about his or her own work. In principle (though not necessarily in practice) all EASP writers are equal members of the scientific community. But face-saving devices are common now as then, especially in the case of disagreement. An interesting one here is the item

(29) Mr Skey, after an elaborate investigation, concluded

The point here is that the writer is disagreeing with Skey and rejecting his conclusion; that is presumably the reason for describing his research as 'elaborate' (one would suppose that the work of others, with whom Bowman agrees, was equally elaborate). The EASP performative *conclude* is used in the same way today; the writer is not committing himself as to the truth value of the conclusion. Note also the use of the imperfect, compared to the perfect of the following sentence:

(30) Dr Mandl ... has described and figured them ...

This is consistent with the point made in above as to the use of tenses to express knowledge-structures in the discipline.

Both plausibility shields and attributive hedges are part of the activity-related items, listed in above: *seem to be, appear indeed to have, have often been overlooked* etc., and the careful attribution of various findings and/or theoretical

conclusions to individual writers. A difference compared to a modern text is that the writer does not consider it necessary to specify the precise source; the text contains some footnotes, but by no means all references are documented. Whether this is because the field was still small enough for the writer to assume that his addressees would know the reference, or because the apparatus for academic, scientific and scholarly documentation was not yet sufficiently developed, remains an open question.

Robert Hooke: *Micrographia* (1665).
(Text taken from facsimile edition, Dover Books, 1961.)

Background of text

Robert Hooke (1635-1703) was one of the founding and most active members of the Royal Society; as 'curator' to the Society, he was responsible for providing "experiments" at the meetings. His *Micrographia* was commissioned by the Society, and was one of the most important European scientific publications of its time. There are of course considerable differences in general and core language structure between the mid-17th century and the present, but it is interesting to examine the text for the occurrence of typical EASP discourse markers, whatever surface form they may have. Here only a brief glance at one page of text is possible; this is not necessarily a representative passage, since it was chosen for its relatively high frequency of these items.

EASP markers: activity-reference and hedging markers

(31) it seems reasonable to think
(32) that shining transient body which we call Flame
(33) flame seems to be a mixture of Air, and the combustible
(34) this may be easily observed (?)
(35) as I have elsewhere shewn is requisite to produce light
(36) This *Hypothesis* I have endeavoured to raise from an Infinite [sic] of Observations and Experiments, the process of which would be much too long to be here inserted, and will perhaps another time afford matter copious enough for a much larger Discourse
(37) has yet been so little truly examined or explain'd, that a diligent enquirer will be able to find but very little information from what has been (till of late) written about it; But being once well understood, it will, I doubt not,

inable [sic] a man to render an intelligible, nay probable, if not the true reason of all the *Phaenomena* of Fire, which, as it has been found by Writers and Philosophers of all Ages a matter of no small difficulty, as may be sufficiently understood by their strange *Hypotheses*, and unintelligible Solutions of some few *Phaenomena* in it

(38) as I shall elsewhere endeavour to manifest when I come to shew the use of ...

(39) In this place I have only time to hint a *Hypothesis*, which, if God permit me life and opportunity, I may elsewhere prosecute, improve and publish.

(40) by the eminently Ingenious and Learned Physician, Doctor Ent, who receiv'd it for a Present from the famous *Ingenioso Cavalliero de Pozzi*

We see here, either in embryonic form or fully developed, many of the features of modern EASP discourse. A full analysis, however, would involve comparison to texts on similar subjects written prior to the beginning of modern science, ie. approximately up to the end of the 16th century. Hooke's text does of course contain such usage as well; an example in this passage is probably the phrase contained in (36), 'writers and philosophers of all ages'.

(39) and (40) are interesting. The phrase "if God permit me life and oportunity" (39) would no longer occur as such in modern EASP, but in terms of discourse function it can perhaps be interpreted as a simple personal hedge, attached to the offering of an opening turn (the offering of openings to be taken up by the writer him/herself is very common in EASP). The use of *may* in the same sentence and in (34) (Bowman uses it similarly in (13)) is problematic: should it be interpreted as a modal used as a hedge or as a simple expression of possibility? Note that the EASP performative verbs differ in part both from modern ones and from those of 1840: *show* (several times), *raise* (a hypothesis), *examine, explain, render* (a reason), *manifest* (in the sense of show), *hint* (= modern 'suggest'; also used by Bowman), *prosecute, improve, publish*. In discourse function, however, they are similar. The EASP system of performatives as well as other discourse markers should perhaps be analyzed for each period separately, and the systems then compared; this would reveal the relative balance of certainty, probability and possibility at a given time.

Conclusions and summary

The paper describes a practical model for the analysis of EASP texts in terms of certain sociopragmatic and pragmalinguistic features. The model was then

applied to two early EASP texts, one from the very beginning of modern scientific discourse (1665), showing the occurrence of these features either as such or in embryonic form, and one from 1840, when in some fields at least the concept of the scientific discipline as a discourse community was already established. This text displays the same features in more or less the same form as today; allowing for core-linguistic change, EASP discourse seems surprisingly stabilized at this date, except for the somewhat stronger markers for courtesy. This is probably a general change in rhetorical usage in English, rather than a change in EASP usage in particular.

No statistical analyses were carried out at this point; they would probably show an increase in the frequency of EASP markers in the text. This increase may show a steady (linear) form, or it may show discontinuous 'leaps' at those times when a discipline suddenly becomes more firmly established as a 'science'. Any meaningful statistical analysis, however, would depend on an operational and unambiguous definition of the text *unit* (phrase, clause, sentence or macrotheme); for this purpose, considerable further work is needed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnes, B. and D. Edge 1982. The organization of academic science, in B. Barnes and D. Edge (eds.), *Science in context: readings in the sociology of science*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 13-20.

Biber, D. and E. Finegan 1989. Styles of stance in English: lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect, *Text* 9, 93-124.

Collins, H. M. 1982. Tacit knowledge and scientific networks, in B. Barnes and D. Edge (eds.), *Science in context: readings in the sociology of science*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 44-64.

Crane, D. 1972. *Invisible colleges: diffusion of knowledge in scientific communities*. Chicago University of Chicago Press.

Dolby, R. G. A. 1977. The transmission of science, *History of Science XV*, 1-43.

Gunnarsson, B-L. (in press). The LSP text and its social context: a model for text analysis, in *Learning, keeping and using language: selected papers from the 8th World Congress of Applied Linguistics*, Sydney.

Hanania, E. and K. Akhtar 1985. Verb form and rhetorical function in science writing: a study of MS theses in biology, chemistry and physics, *ESP Journal* 4, 49-58.

Hopkins, A. and T. Dudley-Evans 1988. A genre-based investigation of the discussion sections in articles and dissertations, *English for Specific Purposes* 7, 113-121.

Hull, D. 1988. *Science as a process: an evolutionary account of the social and conceptual development of science.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Labov, W. 1966. *The social stratification of English in New York City.* Washington, D.C: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Latour, B. and S. Woolgar 1982. The cycle of credibility, in B. Barnes and D. Edge (eds.), *Science in context: readings in the sociology of science,* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Lundquist, L. 1989. Coherence in scientific texts, in Wolfgang Heydrich (ed.), *Connexity and coherence: analysis of text and discourse, Research in text theory no. 12,* Gruyter, 122-149; discussion by other contributors 150-173.

Macleod, R. 1977. Changing perspectives in the social history of science, in I. Spiegel-Rösing and D. de Solla Price (eds.), *Science, technology and society: a cross-disciplinary perspective,* London: Sage Publications, 149-195.

Malcolm, L. 1987. What rules govern tense usage in scientific articles? *English for Specific Purposes* 1, 31-43.

Mulkay, M. J. 1977. Sociology of the scientific research community, in I. Spiegel-Rösing and D. de Solla Price (eds.), *Science, technology and society: a cross-disciplinary perspective.* London: Sage Publications, 93-148.

Nichols, J. 1988. Nominalization and assertion in scientific Russian prose, in J. Haiman and S. A. Thompson (eds.), *Clause combining in grammar and discourse, Typological studies in language* 18, Amsterdam - Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 399-428.

Prince, E. F., J. Frader and C. Bosk 1983. On hedging in physician-physician discourse. Presented at the AAAL Symposium on Applied Linguistics in Medicine, San Antonio, Texas, 29 Dec. 1980. Reprinted in R. J. Di Pietro (ed.), *Linguistics and the professions.*

Shapin, S. and A. Thackray 1974. Prosopography as a research tool in history of science: the British scientific community 1700 - 1800, *History of Science* 12, 1-28.

Shapiro, Barbara J. 1983. *Probability and certainty in seventeenth century England: a study of the relationships between natural science, religion, history, law, and literature.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Valle, E. 1987. Discourse analysis and the translator, in K. Sajavaara (ed.), *Discourse analysis: openings*, Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Varantola, K. 1990. Changes in communicative strategies in scientific/technical English, *ALSED News*, June 1990.

TRANSACTION AND INTERACTION IN WRITING: THE CASE OF ELECTRONIC MAIL

Paula Kalaja and Sirpa Leppänen
University of Jyväskylä

Introduction

Researchers used to compare written texts directly with spoken texts, or the other way round, for possible similarities or differences. Texts were analyzed as having features characteristic of "stereotypical" spoken/oral language or of written/literate language. This kind of an approach has resulted in various one-dimensional categorizations of texts.

We made an attempt to categorize electronic mail messages (e-mail messages), an interesting new text type, in this way. However, the placement of the e-mail messages along the one-dimensional continua of text features turned out to be problematic: some of the e-mail messages seemed to fall onto the "written" end of the continua, while others could be placed to the "spoken" end. We realized that in order to explain the linguistic variation within this text type we needed to look at the texts with reference to the communicative event. Our focus of interest thus shifted from the analysis of text features to an analysis which relates texts to features of the communicative event itself.

In this paper, we have a tentative look at how one particular component of the communicative event could explain differences and similarities in different text types as well as within one and the same text type. In doing this our assumption is that texts - whether written or spoken - should be compared with each other indirectly, with reference to the primary purpose of the communicative event, the transmission of content (transaction) and/or the expression of social relationships or personal attitudes (interaction).

From direct to indirect comparisons of written and spoken texts

Spoken texts used to be compared with written texts for possible differences. Chafe (1982, 1986), for example, noted that spoken texts - everyday conversations - were syntactically less complex than written texts - scientific articles. More specifically, spoken texts did not have passive constructions, nominalizations, and complex clause structures etc., in the way, Chafe argued, written texts did.

Interestingly, Halliday (1985, 1987) claimed that also spoken texts were syntactically complex. In his view their grammatical intricacy (the complex patterns and strategies used to link clauses together) was of a higher degree than that of written texts. Written texts were, in turn, syntactically complex in another way: their lexical density was higher than that of spoken texts. For Halliday there were then two kinds of syntactic complexity, which he referred to as the choreographic complexity of spoken language and the crystalline complexity of written language.

Until Halliday, the implication had been that spoken texts were in these respects inferior to written texts.

Not long ago we ran into an article (Sherblom 1988) where the opposite was the case, that is, written texts were compared with spoken texts, more specifically e-mail messages with everyday conversations, for possible differences. This article, reporting ideas presented in earlier research on e-mail (eg. Uhlig 1977, Rice et al. 1984, Ruben 1988 quoted in Sherblom 1988), claimed among other things that e-mail messages lacked all the nuances of speech and most of the non-verbal cues, such as nods, gestures and facial expressions present in face-to-face communication. E-mail messages contained "reduced communication cues" in comparison to face-to-face communication. Consequently, e-mail appeared as "unsociable, insensitive, cold, and impersonal" (Sherblom 1988:41). Now the implication seems to be quite the reverse: written texts are seen as somehow inferior to spoken texts.

This made us realize the futility of comparing written texts directly with spoken ones. These comparisons often seemed to imply a normative yardstick: any deviation from the norms established for one text type was taken as evidence of

the inferiority or of the secondary nature of the other text type. Therefore we are suggesting that these comparisons should be made indirectly by establishing a *tertium comparationis*. The advantage of this position is that this way we can avoid the implicit prescriptiveness of earlier studies on written and spoken texts.

From one-dimensional to two-dimensional description(s) of writing and speaking

In previous studies texts were compared by placing them on a continuum or continua (such as those of fragmentation and integration; and of involvement and detachment). Written texts typically fell on one end of the continua and spoken texts on the other (see, for example, Chafe 1982, 1986; Chafe & Danielewicz 1987; Tannen 1982, 1984, 1986). These kinds of continua made it possible to distinguish written texts which were spoken-like and spoken texts which were written-like using as criteria features of stereotypical written and spoken texts. However, these do not allow the possibility of texts which have a high proportion of features typical of both written and spoken language. Consequently, instead of describing differences of written and spoken texts by placing them on continua, we are proposing that the two extremes of each continuum should be considered independent dimensions. Together they form a two-dimensional space within which texts can be mapped simultaneously along both dimensions. In theory, this would make it possible to have texts which are at the same time written-like *and* spoken-like, rather than more or less written-like *or* spoken-like.

One continuum (or dimension) along which comparisons of texts were made was that of detachment and involvement. For Chafe (1986) and Chafe & Danielewicz (1987) these terms referred to the relation of the writer or speaker to himself or herself, to topic or text, to concrete reality, and to his or her audience. The realizations of this relation were primarily lexical and syntactic (Chafe 1986). For example, the use of first person personal pronouns seemed to indicate ego-involvement.

The notions of detachment and involvement were adopted by Tannen (1984, 1986, 1989). She, however, suggested that the realizations of these relations were strategic rather than syntactic. As this kind of strategic realizations of

involvement she mentioned sound strategies, such as rhythm and repetition; and meaning strategies, such as indirectness, ellipses, dialogue, and imagery, etc.

Tannen (1984, 1986, 1989) reformulated Chafe's ideas in another way, too. She replaced the terms detachment and involvement by those of relative focus on information and on involvement. By this she hoped to "eschew a dichotomous view of speaking and writing in favor of the view that both can display a variety of features depending on the communicative situation, goal, genre, and so on ... " (Tannen 1984:21).

Tannen, however, left the term involvement very vague (see for example Tannen 1984, 1986, 1989). It seems to us that in addition to using the term in the senses suggested by Chafe, she also made it cover other kinds of phenomena, such as the way in which a literary text forces its readers to become involved with the fictional world it depicts (Tannen 1986). This perhaps unavoidable elusiveness and fuzziness of the notion of involvement led us to adopt the more explicitly formulated terms transaction and interaction instead. These notions have been suggested by for example Brown and Yule (1983). By transaction they refer to the expression of content; and by interaction to the establishment and maintenance of a social relation, and to the expression of personal attitudes.

Transaction and interaction, similarly to Tannen's focus on information and on involvement, were seen as dependent on the overall goals of written or spoken texts. To our minds texts themselves do not have goals: it is the writers or speakers who have goals and who seek to fulfil these goals linguistically in texts. This also means that instead of considering texts to be independent entities, we regard them as components of communicative situations of writing or speaking. This idea is by no means a new one; it has been suggested by Chafe & Danielewicz (1987), Tannen (1984), Biber (1988), and Östman (1987) among others.

We thus see transaction and interaction as goals of writers and speakers. They could be taken as one distinct two-dimensional space within which any text can be mapped.

Hypotheses and some observations on the data

Our hypothesis is that there can be written texts which show that the writer's primary concern is transaction, and that there can also be written texts which show that his or her main concern is interaction, or *both* equally. This of course can apply not only to written texts but also to spoken ones.

Our second hypothesis is that there can be variation in this respect even within one text type. To test these hypotheses we decided to compare two types of written texts, namely, e-mail messages (placed on a bulletin board called *Talk Politics Middle East*) with letters-to-the-Editor to *Time*, a journal published weekly. In choosing these two kinds of texts to be compared we made an attempt to control for the writer-reader relationship (they do not know each other) and for topic (the 1990-91 Middle East crisis).

Let us consider some examples. The first one is an e-mail message:

Example 1

In article <1990Sep24.204528.16138 @agate.berkeley.edu>, steve@violet.berkeley.edu (Steve Goldfield) writes: There have also been demonstrations in Egypt opposing Egypt's participation in the US intervention (it takes a lot of courage to demonstrate in a place like Egypt). And Egyptians were prevented from participating in a peace conference. Takes a lot of courage to do the same in Kuwait. Oops, they don't count, right?
The "strong and broad support" appears to be wishful thinking on the part of the American media.
The "strong and broad support" against Kuwaitis seems to be all there. And the Saudis seem pretty pleased, in general. Too bad this doesn't count for anything, huh, Steve. I mean, they're only the people we're down here helping. Who cares what THEY think?
-MSM

- - - - - - -
Mark S. Miller UUUCP:msmiller @Sun.COM

"In a nation ruled by swine, all pigs are upward mobile"
- Hunter S. Thompson
Disclaimer> I work for me, so do my words.

The writer of this e-mail message clearly has interaction as one of his goals. To this end, he uses a number of linguistic devices, such as *oops* (interjections), *I*

mean (pragmatic particles), *right?* and *huh, Steve* (kind of tag questions and direct forms of address), *Who cares what THEY think?* (questions and capitalizations), etc.

Our second example is a letter-to-the Editor to *Time International* (3 September 1990, p. 5):

Example 2

George Bush, Congress and the Pentagon brass should all get down on their knees and thank God for the Iraqi invasion. Nothing distracts attention from domestic corruption and incompetence like war. A conflict in greater Arabia will benefit the yoyos who have brought America to the brink of economic ruin and social chaos.

Cynthia E. Leichter
Seattle

Unlike the writer of the e-mail message, this writer seems only to be concerned with the expression of her opinions. Hence the lack of such interactive devices as we found in our first example.

The third example is again an e-mail message, but in some respects a very different one from Example 1:

Example 3

Well, Bob, you have to understand that your postings, however fact/filled they may be, always seem to leave the impression that you say Israel can do no wrong. Goldfield and Kolling and the others seem to think that Israel can do right, and is accountable for everything. Therefore, the polarization that we see these entirely yours and Goldfield/Kolling/ARFs creation. Slander and lies is also subjective. Facts can be used two ways, and who is really sure which way is the correct one? Israel is not to blame for all of the problems in the territories, on the other hand it is not exactly unaccountable. The best solution for peace is to cut off everyone's fingers so they can't point anymore. Or isolate the hard-liners and the PLO on an island and give them sticks to beat each other to death with. The PLO is a very fragile organization over which Arafat has only nominal control. There are people in the hierarchy whom he does not dare cross. I condemn the PLO, not so much for its actions against Israel, but for its actions against other Arabs. If the PLO has had to kill over 200 Palestinians suspected of collaborating with Israel, it clearly has some problems. Nothing should justify that.

Well, so much for my tirade. Let the flames begin.

Sanjiv Sarwate

> "Do you hear the people sing/Singing the song of angry men?/It is the music of a people/ Who will not be slaves again!" - From Les Miserables

Sarwate@ux1.cso.uiuc.edu
BITNET:SANJIV@UIUCVMD.BITNET

In spite of the use of some interactive devices, such as *well, Bob* (pragmatic particles and direct forms of address), this writer seems primarily to be concerned with the transmission of information and expression of opinions. In this respect, his message resembles our second example: there, too, the writer's goal seemed primarily to be the expression of her opinions, rather than the establishment and maintenance of a social relationship, or the expression of personal feelings or attitudes.

These examples seem to give support to our two hypotheses. Firstly, there are written texts which show that the writer's main objective can be the transmission of facts and written texts which show that the writer's aim is the establishment or maintenance of a social relation with the reader(s) and the expression of personal attitudes. Secondly, there are written texts which indicate that the writer has both transactional and interactional goals. Our second hypothesis - that there can be variation in this respect even within one and the same text type - seems also to be correct.

These are of course preliminary observations, and they will be followed by a systematic analysis of the data. One problem we see in doing this is the identification and classification of the linguistic realizations of the writer's or speaker's goals.

Conclusion

To sum up, what we are proposing is a framework within which we could compare texts with each other indirectly, irrespective of mode, and explain similarities and/or differences found in them with reference to the overall goals of the writers or speakers. The advantage of this kind of an approach is that we

are now able to analyze e-mail messages without having to claim that they are spoken-like, or that they show features typical of spoken texts. What we claim is that also written texts, regardless of their level of formality or intimacy, can show the writer's focus on interaction. It seems that this potential focus on interaction in e-mail messages can be realized by similar linguistic means as in spoken texts, or, what is most interesting, by quite different means.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Biber, D. 1988. *Variation across speech and writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, G. and G. Yule 1983. *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chafe, W. 1982. Integration and involvement in speaking, writing, and oral literature, in D. Tannen (ed.), *Spoken and written language: exploring orality and literacy*, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Chafe, W. 1986 (1985). Linguistic differences produced by differences between speaking and writing, in D. R. Olson, N. Torrance and A. Hildyard (eds.), *Literacy, language and learning: the nature and consequences of reading and writing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chafe, W. and J. Danielewicz 1987. Properties of spoken and written language, in R. Horowitz and S. J. Samuels (eds.), *Comprehending oral and written language*, New York: Academic Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1989 (1985). *Spoken and written language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1987. Spoken and written modes of meaning, in R. Horowitz and S. J. Samuels (eds.), *Comprehending oral and written language*, San Diego: Academic Press.

Oestman, J.-O. 1987. Implicit involvement in interactive writing, in J. Verschueren and M. Berturelli-Papi (eds.), *The pragmatic perspective*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sherblom, J. 1988. Direction, function, and signature in electronic mail, *The Journal of Business Communication* 25, 39-54.

Tannen, D. 1982. The oral/literate continuum in discourse, in D. Tannen (ed.), *Spoken and written language: exploring orality and literacy*, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Tannen, D. 1984. Spoken and written narrative in English and Greek, in D. Tannen (ed.), *Coherence in spoken and written discourse*, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Tannen, D. 1986 (1985). Relative focus on involvement in oral and written discourse, in D. R. Olson, N. Torrance and A. Hildyard (eds.), *Literacy, language, and learning: the nature and consequences of reading and writing*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, D. 1989. *Talking voices: repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SUOMEN SOVELTAVAN KIELITIETEEN YHDISTYKSEN
(AFinLA) JULKAISUJA

PUBLICATIONS DE L'ASSOCIATION FINLANDAISE
DE LINGUISTIQUE APPLIQUÉE (AFinLA)

Jakelu:
Distributor:

KORKEAKOULUJEN KIELIKESKUS
JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO
PL 35
40351 JYVÄSKYLÄ

AFinLA:n jäsenet
AFinLA members

AKATEEMINEN KIRJAKAUPPA
PL 128
00101 HELSINKI

Muut kuin AFinLA:n jäsenet
Others

ISBN 951-9388-36-2
ISSN 0781-0318

BEST COPY AVAILABLE